BOUND
AUG 9 '30
DRURY COLLEGE LIBRARY 40063
Springfield, Missouri
45

The
FORUM
JANUARY, 1920

WHEN CAPITAL GOES TO COURT

INTERPRETED BY THE COURT

"So, whatever happens in the present conflict of of justice and common sense against greed and disorder of principles, public opinion still reigns supreme."* * *

"There is an inequality of human justice in the whole scheme of mortal experience, but the wisest adjustment of these inequalities is not always the business of the Court."* * *

"Government itself must take strong hand and, if need be, mine the coal, run the railroad and control the food until orderly, lawful and productive conditions are restored and normalized."

LABOR has questioned the fairness of capital and its responsibility to the law.

At this juncture in our national industrial revolution, the Court's opinion on capital and its responsibilities, becomes a question of final importance, both to the public and to Labor as organized in its demands.

What is capital's legal obligation towards labor, as interpreted by the Court? Is capital obeying its legal obligation? Is capital at fault or is labor the offender of law and order and its legal obligations?

These are questions that well concern the public, whose opinion and whose legislative enactments, through its accredited representatives, must and always will dominate in a free country.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Capital has come to Court; is subject to the Court; and its obligations and requirements are adequately and comprehensively laid down in the law of the nation and the laws of its several States.

THE FORUM has consulted the Court for its opinion. It has asked the Court to define the obligations of capital, of the employer, and the employee, in their contractual relations that concern the public and legislation. What has labor a right to demand of capital; and what has the public a right to expect of both?

These are questions of law and order as defined in legislation. They cannot be ignored by organization, either of capital or labor, and they are the final bar of public opinion and as these laws exist, and stand on the statute books, so they must and will be obeyed. If there are inequalities in these laws and they fall short of new conditions, economic, or industrial, they will be altered, and by recourse to our political methods, and not by evasions, defiance or illegal force.

Just what capital's obligations are, is the concern of THE FORUM, in this inquiry; and has capital, brought to Court, obeyed the law of the people?

In the Court's estimate of a capitalist, the opinion of a learned judge has been consulted.

"There are three distinct features of the question concerning the responsibility of capital to labor that, by legislative enactments, have brought about regulating laws," he says. "We can see what they are later. There may be ample room for more laws than there are to accomplish all that labor seems to demand. It is obvious that these laws are, in effect, proper answers to labor's complaint.

"Aside from the legal viewpoint, there is that other new force that has entered the orderly household of the U. S. A., with an apparent intent to tear down the pillars of law and order that have sustained the Republic successfully. A weapon of defense when public interest is threatened, called injunction, is not favorably regarded by organized labor. *Disarmament of the courts has been secretly proselytized.* Hid-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

den charges of graft and favoritism have peeped out from the strike-trenches of labor, bristling with personal threats and explosive ammunition of scandal. In spite of all underground conspiracies incited by socialist cartoons, by violent literature prepared by illiterate editors, who, with a bonfire of words, betray their ignorance of economic responsibility or the object even of common law, there is one factor in their calculations of war against society which they cannot convert. That factor is public opinion. No scheme known to human intelligence has been able to dispose of this mysterious ally of the truth. False propaganda cannot destroy it, nor false bribes of Utopian glitter lure it away from its firm foundation of common interest. Above all, no one can penetrate the sinister silence with which it bides its time.

"To the agitator, the capitalist, the jury and the judge himself, public opinion is the master mind that sustains issues between right and wrong, because public opinion levels the moral balance of the plot and passion of good and evil.

"So, whatever happens in the present conflict of justice and common sense against greed and disorder of principles, public opinion still reigns supreme."

JUSTICE SLOW BUT SURE

THESE glimpses behind the restrictions of the bench should serve to convince the reactionaries who are searching for new legislation that they can expect it, not through violent upheavals of radical opinion, but by the slow and normal progress of events that have identified former processes of law and order in this country. The Court was soundly convinced, by reason of long experience with the elements of law and order, that there is nothing unnatural or sudden in the character of justice. To seize the pendulum of social order that swings within its natural orbit of time, and jerk it violently right or left, only delays the true record of the hour, only destroys that reckoning, so that no man knows when work begins or ends, when wages are earned, when capital must pay them. Such insanity

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is possible, the Court said, but against it society may have a remedy.

One should also accept certain errors in human justice, errors that have a bearing on the question of capital's duty to labor, but with these errors the judges have no authority under the constitutional duties of the Court. The fact that one man is poor and another rich is an economic problem, an issue with which human justice may be vitally concerned, but one which the Court cannot decide. Equal rights are given on fixed principles that cannot take into account the skill of one man to amass a fortune legitimately, or the failure of another man to prosper financially. *There is an inequality of human justice in the whole scheme of mortal experience, but the wisest adjustment of these inequalities is not always the business of the Court.*

Aside from radicalism which is not always so great a problem to the American workman individually, because there are many socialists among good workmen, there are legitimate inequalities that arise in disputes between capital and labor that have resulted in proper restriction of capitalistic error. Capital is by no means immune to wrong, nor *does the Court assume that money has any power when brought to the bar of justice to answer a complaint.* On the contrary, there is a general impression that the Court operates for the benefit of those who seek relief from oppression. Such oppressions have occurred; the Court has encountered them.

Reformation of character is always taken into account by justice in reducing the punishment of men who have felt the crushing force of imprisonment, but labor in its attitude toward capital has denied the latter any justice for reformation of character. While it is not wholly true to state that labor in mass formation is occupied in a conspiracy of agitation against capital, because a vast portion of American labor is not, the Court's knowledge of what capital really feels towards *labor*, as an employer, was discussed in the course of a confidential talk with the Judge. Being assured that 95 per cent of employers now, were in favor of legislation which should compel the capitalist to safeguard the lives of men and women exposed to the hardships and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

temptations of factories, machine shops, food houses, mills, shipyards, mines, quarries, sweatshops, it developed that such legislation had occurred only during the last ten years. Previous to that time, the only resource of labor against capital, or *vice versa*, was under the common law—a process of many delays, costly to both sides of the controversy, and without complete solution of such problems as it revealed.

AN AWAKENING TO LABOR'S RIGHTS

THERE followed an awakening in several State legislatures to the glaring fact that labor had certain rights in human association which capital had ignored. Numerous State commissions were formed to investigate these injustices of capital towards labor, statistics were compiled showing inhuman working conditions, till finally there emerged State Industrial Commissions, to whom the proper grievances of labor were submitted. These commissions were clothed with authority by legislation, and, as we shall see later, became bulwarks of humane intent, so that labor might defend itself, from an inhuman treatment, against capital.

Obviously capital long neglected to exert its perception of labor conditions. It is not necessary to go into those dark places in the history of capitalistic greed, when workmen were exposed to daily risk of life in the steel teeth of machinery which they handled without safeguards, in unsanitary buildings; where women and children were sacrificed to the improprieties of social conditions in factories and shops; where light and air were denied them through the greed of capital to overcrowd the buildings so that overhead expenses might be reduced and profits increased. It seems that profiteering, though not so fine a science as it is today, was an issue of certain bad habits in business long ago.

The interest in this bad condition was gradually aroused by legislative observation, improvements were put into effect by amendments to State Constitutions. As new legislation gradually became operative, capital at first opposed it. In a short time, however, capital saw the ultimate benefit to production in the new laws that came

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

into existence to relieve labor. In all this evolution, it was found that capital, when brought into court, found itself, in the scales of justice, no heavier than labor. This statement is made in spite of suspicions to the contrary. *Suspicion against capital is not so well founded when applied to capital's obligations to labor, as when applied to certain combinations of capital which may affect public interest.* But the fact that capital is an employer, the life current that nourishes labor unavoidably brought about a suspicion of power that, at first glance, appeared to be against capital. Yet, under the Constitution of the United States, there is no one force greater in equality of rights than another. There are fixed standards of human justice that the law takes into account, not always according to the wisdom of Solomon but undoubtedly bound to the cause of fair play. This cause is far deeper in its sway than the power of legislation, because it is a democratic principle, a law growing out of an inspired sense of justice.

CAPITAL'S ETHICAL INTENTS OVERLOOKED

THE Court indicated that, upon examining the laws that had been introduced in various States, in effect to discipline capital, there were many instances where it was shown that labor had not been so fair in its appreciation of these enforced reforms of capital as it should have been. Upon further examination of these laws they clearly indicated that capital had voluntarily accepted many restrictions, with a broader vision of their ultimate benefit to the future industrial problems of the country.

When capital, brought face to face with labor in the courts, realized the complaints against it by labor, it promptly admitted the wrongs complained of. In this attitude it was apparent that capital took a far vision, a wide outlook, while labor still persisted in its belligerent attitude, and has perhaps widely maintained it. The wounds which indifferent employers had inflicted upon labor in the past have not been entirely healed through the restrictions put upon capital by the courts. But the innumerable labor laws that have been passed, more especially in the last fifteen

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

years, have done much to restore the balance of right between labor and capital. The Judge appreciated that the vision which capital has seen, as the outcome of this new legislation, has perhaps an ethical scope that labor has failed to recognize.

He interpreted it this way:

"Capital saw, in these new labor laws, which in each instance improved the daily life and moral strength of its employees, a conservation of industrial ideals. Capital saw that if the woman who worked in the factory was protected from physical strain, from the deadening ether of monotony, from unsanitary menace, from moral temptation, and was properly cared for in all the essential qualities of her destiny to bear children, that the race would be improved. Capital saw that environment in the lives of child employees, unless properly taken into account, would destroy the men and women upon whom they ultimately relied for the industrial life of the nation. The strong, good, healthy woman would become the mother of a strong, decent, happy race of men and women. Capital realized the necessity of righting many wrongs against labor, because it saw beyond the horizon of previous standards. Labor, on the other hand, having found justice in the courts, cared less and less for the ideals it had fought for. This new labor legislation awakened the ambitions of labor, as it was intended to do, but in the course of time these ambitions developed into unexpected demands, for which capital may be compelled to go to court again, in defense of those rights it had been ordered to yield to labor."

Obviously capital must again go to court, but this time in appeal for protection against the misconceptions of the law which labor has absorbed. This prospect has been hastened by the recent disorderly strikes. Their source, no matter from what reasonable claim for relief from the high cost of living, has not been clearly shown. *Capital's willingness to meet a fair demand for a raise in wages has been sullenly met with a demand for more.* Step by step it has become evident that labor has lost a sense of proportionate value, that an apparent mania for looting not only the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

employers, but the public at large, has seized the workingman. This is a situation to which capital, although unprepared, has no just reason to submit.

LABOR'S MENACING ATTITUDE

IN a sense the laws might be at fault, there being no legislation governing the new demands of labor. Such a condition of industrial disorder had not been foreseen in previous legislation, because employment was regarded heretofore as a free right limited only to the freedom of a peaceable and reasonable understanding with employers. These expectations have been overthrown by a conspiracy of labor forces, however, which has brought about a gradually menacing threat, intended first to scare capital, and perhaps ultimately to abolish it,—which capital will not allow.

The Judge said:

"There is no law compelling capital to pay labor any wages except those wages agreed upon in the contract of employment, and there is no wage scale ordered by the Court. There has been some effort to enforce a minimum wage, but the whole effect of any national attempt to fix wages, or prices, many argue, might become an interference with the pursuit of the private rights of citizens to conduct their affairs under the privileges of a republican form of government. To fix the wages a man shall earn is to invite a serfdom of labor under an autocracy of power, or to fix prices at which goods shall be sold on the market, is to remove the stimulus of liberty for the individual in the progress of his business and occupation."

It did not appear that capital was so much opposed to fixed wages as labor, although labor's constant complaint, when addressing public opinion, was a complaint of insufficient wages. The Judge held that only in part, compared to the whole mass of employment, was this complaint admissible. After discussing the success of labor in securing higher wages, through strike movements, the Court said:

"Accusations against capital, when expressed in such disorderly fashion as shown in some of the recent strikes in vast industrial plants, could expect no relief from the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

law. A million men on strike means an irremediable loss to the men themselves, because they lose their per diem earnings. If, ultimately, they do succeed in forcing capital to increase their wages, the ratio of that increase often fails to equalize the losses incurred by the unearned wages while on strike."

As an economic solution, it was questionable. From a judicial standpoint, it was only conceivable when capital had violated its legal obligations to labor, and refused to abide by them when required to do so. Labor had ample redress in the Court when capital took any illegal advantage. Under the Federal Liability Act, under the comprehensive labor laws that are in effect in the majority of States, capital is constantly under surveillance to maintain a strict account of the employers' responsibility, fixed by statute, to the employees.

NO LEGAL REMEDY FOR CLASS JEALOUSIES

IF there existed, as there undoubtedly did, an inclination among employees to confuse their duties with certain envious feelings of class, that had not yet been embodied in the meaning of a contract between employer and employee, the Court could see no way, within the scope of legislation, by which such confusion could be remedied. With the elements of class jealousies, the Court was not prepared to deal, excepting when, in some outburst of class hatred, law and order became necessary to put down revolution. Such dangers were not so imminent as some radical Bolshevists in their arraignment of capital under Soviet doctrine would have many believe, because precedent had never shown the inclination of any people to overthrow a government based upon freedom. Free peoples do not seek revolution. They have already answered that problem in their own Constitution of universal liberty. And, there was another reason why the swirling smoke-pots of Bolshevism were ineffective in any lasting consequences of class hatred in America, because in a free country there is a constantly revitalized energy, in new legislation, to meet the rising ideals of a country still new in such things.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Convinced that the courts of the United States had demonstrated that they kept pace with new laws when interpreted in the language and meaning of national ideals, the Judge preferred to believe that, if any revolution were necessary, it would find its best inspiration in new legislation acceptable to the precedents of law and order. It was possible that labor had failed to look upon its reasonable power to secure the aid of capital. It was possible that capital was more keenly alive to the unreality of radicalism, to the cinematograph character of any Bolshevist threats in this country, because it had accepted its own legal obligations. Capital has been brought to court to answer the complaints of labor, and had answered them obediently. Labor, on the other hand, had failed to be satisfied. Most of the new legislation which disciplined capital for its neglect of the human rights of employees had been utilized in favor of labor. In adversity we learn more, and that was perhaps the reason that labor, victorious in all its claims upon capital, felt the elation of more prosperous conditions.

There was no permanent new legislation that found fault with labor. In the industrial problems which came before the courts, where the issue was one of wages, conditions, or improvements for labor, capital was penalized by the law. So far, no important protection of a suspicious character had been given capital in its dealings with labor.

(*Concluded on another page of this issue*)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE COMMUNITY HOUSE

A BULWARK AGAINST DISCONTENT AND REBELLION

By WILLIAM CAMERON SPROUL
(Governor of Pennsylvania)

A NATION-WIDE movement for the building of soldiers' memorials is undoubtedly under way. In this connection it is worth while remembering that our armies were composed of young men, most of whom, very happily, we still have with us. Our task, therefore, is the joyful one of building for the living!

What fitter form, then, could these memorials take than that of the Community House, a warm pulsating center of community life where we and they shall together build up and give permanence to the new democracy? It is impossible, meanwhile, more fitly to honor the dead heroes. The Community House shall be our tangible guarantee that we will keep faith with *them* in establishing the new brotherhood of man for which they pledged their all.

I cannot imagine a finer, more worthy enterprise, or a more forward-looking movement than this which communities all over the country have spontaneously adopted, to crystallize the spirit of service. The very spirit and energy with which the project is carried forward on every side is proof of one of the greatest assets the war has brought us—an awakened community consciousness. America has come to realize that, once stirred, once organized, the American community is the mightiest and most powerful instrument for accomplishment. We might never have suspected this power had it not become clear to us that the fate of the world rested upon the efficiency of our fighting men then in training, and that this efficiency was dependent upon the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

creation of a friendly and protective atmosphere to environ their leisure hours outside the camps.

OUR WAR SUCCESS DUE TO COMMUNITY SPIRIT

MUCH of the success, too, of the financial plans of the national government and of the great war philanthropies has been due to community spirit. Towns which had never been able to act concertedly upon any proposition for public improvement became united in the drives for the Liberty Loans and for the war chest, and the community committees organized for these undertakings brought out individual workers and community co-operation which had not been suspected. These men and women will not, it is to be hoped, allow their committees to disintegrate, but will keep them together for greater service. Many community interests that had always been antagonistic to each other became harmonized in the emergency, and many hitherto self-centered individuals suddenly began to think in terms of the community.

Communities everywhere, realizing what they have been able to do for the soldiers, have begun to take serious thought for the possibilities of their own betterment through community organization. The Community House is one of the evidences of organized community spirit.

It is a great pleasure to know that Pennsylvania leads the country in the number of such enterprises under way. Philadelphia was the first great city to pledge herself to the building of a memorial auditorium. It is going to be a great two-million-dollar structure suitable for housing big get-togethers of the people.

COMMUNITY HOUSES IN PENNSYLVANIA

ONLY a month after the Armistice was signed, the 8,000 inhabitants of the little town of Catasauqua came together and made their plans for a Community House. These plans, since followed in other towns, might well inspire the most lethargic of communities to bestir themselves. A Memorial Society was formed, of which every man, woman and child was invited to become a member,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pledging dues of from one to five cents a day for a period of five years. With the $125,000 thus pledged the building is assured. It is to be such a building as will contribute to the happiness and advancement of every man, woman and child. It will contain an auditorium, recreation rooms, gymnasium, and swimming pool, as well as a Hall of Fame which will contain the war records of the locality, including bronze tablets on which will be inscribed the names of men who went out from that community. The property will be held by a board of trustees, chosen for life, and managed by a board of governors elected annually by the subscribers.

Many Pennsylvania communities large and small have equally interesting plans under way, just as have other communities all over the country. I mention these as typical of the memorial-building movement. Another important practical consideration in the situation is that the building of Community Houses furnishes work now, when work is needed, for masons and bricklayers and carpenters and plumbers and roofers, and the art and labor which go into the furnishing of the material and the construction of buildings. In Pennsylvania we are looking at these practical matters and are encouraging state, county and community enterprises which will keep the wheels of industry going.

The same community spirit at work in the memorial-building movement has been equally active in other forms. Some time ago I received an appointment from Washington to the Chairmanship of "Community Service" for Chester and vicinity. In spite of other urgent duties I accepted, because it seemed to me that no patriotic citizen should refuse such an opportunity to participate in a movement which is to serve his home town, his state, and all of America during these difficult and vital days of reconstruction. I am proud of what has already been accomplished in Chester.

A CURE FOR RADICALISM AND RACE RIOTS

I BELIEVE that all such things as revolutionary outbreaks and race riots will forever be impossible when this movement (growing out of War Camp Community Service, and

42571
DRURY COLLEGE LIBRARY
Springfield, Missouri

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

being to industrial and other congested centers what that organization was to military centers) has become operative in its national scope. One may judge somewhat of the broad, constructive character of the work in Chester, when he knows that the town has been organized for every sort of recreational and inspirational activity, calculated to appeal to all types of its citizens, and with each unit headed by a competent executive, assisted by one or more committees made up of representative citizens. Community singing, Americanization, school center activities, hospitality community clubs, physical training, and special Italian and negro organizations, have place in the community programs. At the first meeting in Chester, hearty co-operation was pledged by representatives of the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., Knights of Columbus, Council of Defense, Council of Churches, Boy Scouts, Women's Clubs, Parent-Teachers' Association, Municipal Departments of Parks and Schools, etc. The labor organizations and the employers alike have place in Community Service.

"Here let no one be stranger," is the motto of the hospitality committee. The same brand of hospitality that met the soldier in the camp town during the war meets the new-comer to Chester, and the welcome is backed up by every sort of leisure-time activity. On all the vacant lots, and park spaces around, organized athletics and competitive sports of all sorts are to be indulged in. Chester has the country's first "dry saloon," where it is being demonstrated daily that good fellowship and successful social intermingling among men do not necessitate alcoholic beverages. It has inspiring evening courses of lectures, and instruction in handicraft. The colored people have their own activities and their own excellently developed centers for pleasure and self-improvement.

A STIMULUS TO EXPERT LEADERSHIP

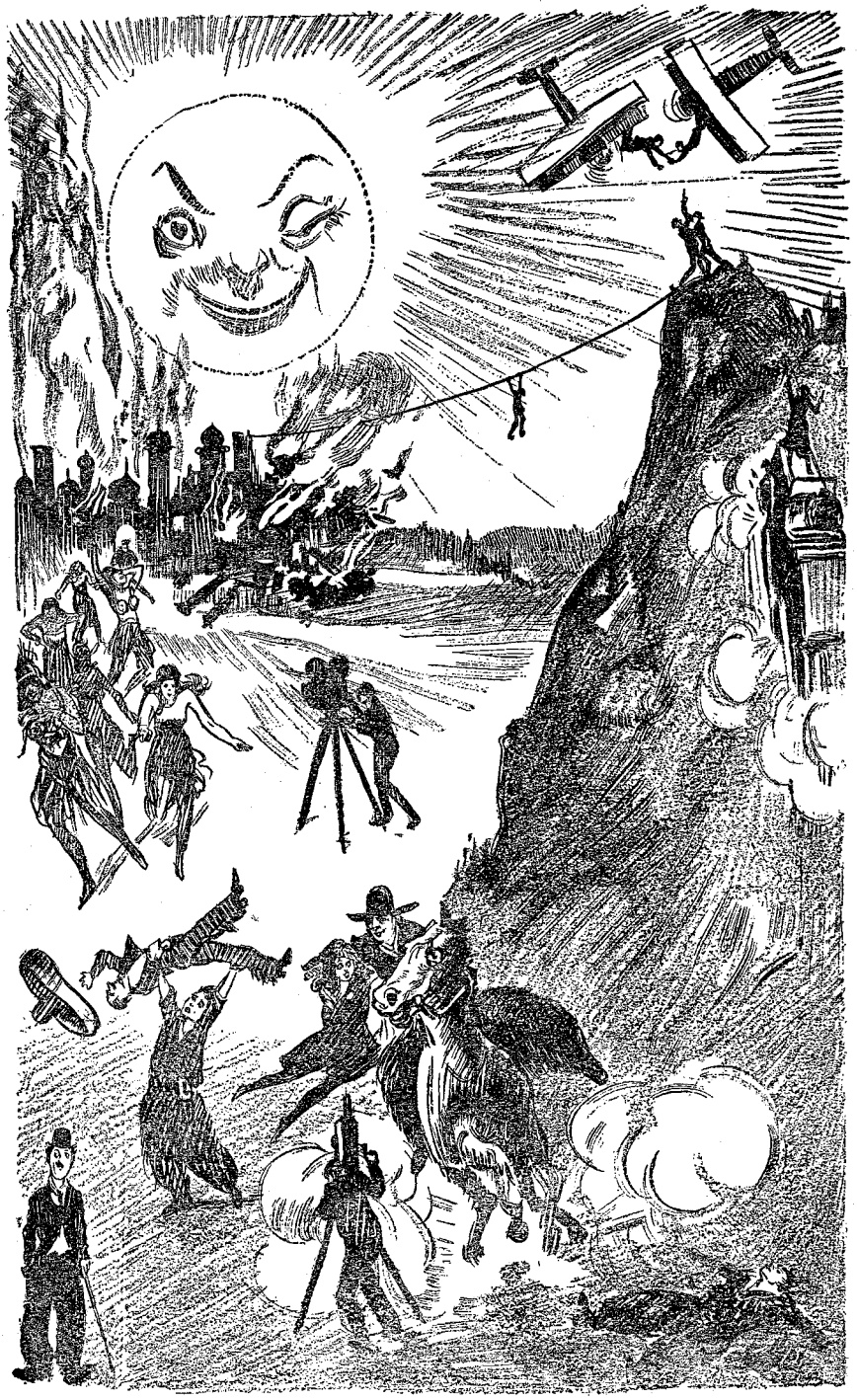
MORE than two hundred of Chester's citizens, representing all the various phases and resources of Chester and vicinity, are organized in working committees inspired by a strong spirit of loyalty to the best ideals of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this new American life. Bethlehem is similarly organized, as are numbers of other towns and cities. Community Service furnishes the expert leadership, not for building up new institutions such as have always existed, but for so developing the resources of the community itself as to render its own presence unnecessary. It brings together people of all sorts and creeds and conditions, in working for a common purpose. That purpose is the ensuring to every individual the utilizing of his leisure time for finer living and greater enjoyment and a larger measure of physical well-being.

The building of Community Houses, the establishment of community clubs, the extension of personal community service—all bespeak the same spirit. Community Service is being developed to meet calls for expert leadership along all lines of community endeavor. Here we have found, in my judgment, the great hope of democracy, the bulwark against discontent and rebellion, a growing bond of good fellowship among the good Americans. We have discovered our own communities.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A Quiet Day in Movieland

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A VISIT TO MOVIELAND

THE FILM CAPITAL OF THE WORLD— LOS ANGELES

(*By* THE FORUM's Correspondent)

I HAVE just come from Movieland, that place of studios and bungalows on the edge of Los Angeles, called Hollywood. And away from the clatter and grease paint of it all, one thinks of Movieland —a "Babylon" of plaster and slats.

There, where one hundred and sixty companies grind out the thousands of miles of gelatine plays that you and I see in darkened theatres, the atmosphere is laden with money madness. A thousand dollars! It's the coin of the daily patter as was twenty-five cents the minimum a few years ago. And there is a hotel of the type called "palatial," mostly frequented by the movie people; and there's a "million-dollar rug" in the lobby, upon which no movie star or magnate ventures to stand unless he's planned, at least once, a "million-dollar deal." And in Movieland is a youth, who used to deliver milk, now drawing a thousand dollars a week. He is a star in filmland. And there is a girl who used to plug a switchboard in a San Francisco hotel who now gets $1500 a week; she is a "star!"

Of course when you tell an Angelo—which term the Los Angeles press uses for its citizens—that the present booming prosperity of the city is due to motion pictures and tourists—the Angelo rises and paws the air. But everyone knows that the factories are trivial, that the fruit-growing lands are miles removed from the city, and that the money is pouring into Los Angeles coffers, from movies and tourists. They are the folk of the film whom you see spending lavishly in the best shops and the best restaurants; and when the autumn begins to bring the tourists, one of the first places the Angelos shepherd them to is Movieland. For

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they live pictures and think pictures in Los Angeles. Scarcely a clerk in the city but who fancies himself some day before the camera with a beauteous leading lady clinging to his neck; scarcely a waitress or shopgirl who hasn't been told, "Why, Fanny, you look like Mary Pickford!" Yes, it's a motion-picture city.

When the kingly Albert visited Los Angeles the Mayor promptly commandeered a squadron of motors to whirl the royal visitor and his suite, where? To the venerable missions? Nay—to the movie studios! And, scandal of scandals, when Albert called, "Doug" Fairbanks wasn't in; he was out on "location," hurling Mexicans over his shoulders. But Albert went to other studios, too, and what he saw—come with me.

A LAND OF PERFECT WEATHER

AS OUR motor leaves the city streets and we hum down long boulevards pretentious with palm trees, transplanted there by Angelos, and approach the foot-hills where Charlie Chaplin built a house approaching a Grand Duke's in size and elegance, they tell us: "Los Angeles is the film capital of the world. Last year only twelve days of rain—perfect sunshine the rest of the time, conditions for picture-taking that you'll find nowhere else in the United States. You see, there is everything for the movies. Mountains, only a few hours by train, the desert, then half an hour by car and you have the ocean beaches and high cliffs; a few hours to the north, up the valley, and there's farm country—practically every background the movies require in easy reach. That's why the studios are here and always will be here."

Our car nosed into Hollywood, a place of bungalows where live the great and the some-day-great of Movieland, and beyond them white walls of huge studios. Most of the companies have their own plants, but there is one vast place, a community studio, as it were. Here—they call it Brunton's—are five great studios rolled into one. To this place come companies contracting for the use of the stages, labor and materials by the picture or by the year. Here

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one finds several of the stars whose names are great in film lore—Mary Pickford, Bessie Barriscale, J. Warren Kerrigan, Henry B. Walthall, George Loane Tucker and Allan Dwan. Here a thousand dollars was mentioned as casually as a dime.

We noticed, coming into the enclosure, a number of gardens—Colonial, Italian, English, and Japanese in design, colorful with flowers, abundant with pretty nooks, artfully designed to present bewitching little vistas of foliage and fountains. And our movie friend said: "That's so they won't have to go away from the lot if they want to take a garden scene. You see, the actors can step off one of the studio stages when they've finished with an interior set and just cross the road to do a garden scene. It saves money. You're not paying actors fancy salaries to have the time consumed riding around the country, looking for pretty garden backgrounds." So, efficiency was coming into the movies!

The studio streets that day were swarming with people. Over there, a squadron of Napoleon's cuirassiers, two hundred supers who had to be paid $5 each simply so that one scene you would see for a brief five seconds on the screen would be convincing—a vision of Napoleonic days conjured up in the mind of the leading character in the play. And here were a hundred doughty doughboys, many months mustered out of the army, but on hand now in their uniforms to pick up a few easy dollars—background for a brief war scene. And what a motley mob is there—five hundred, no, almost a thousand men, few of them speaking English, Mexicans all, five of them ex-members of Villa's Guard of Gold bandits, who find the pickings better around the movie studios these days than in Mexico. And girls—tall girls and short girls, curly-haired girls and girls with their hair drawn sleekly back over their brows, girls who suggest mignonettes and girls who suggest tuberoses; girls in aprons and girls in evening gowns—girls by the score, their faces all grease paint, waiting in little chattering groups for their big moment of the day, when the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

studio door opens and through a megaphone a voice bawls: "Extra girls for Stage Three——this way——Hurry now, children!" After which they will be grouped by the director, "languid atmosphere" for an evening reception; or "raging atmosphere" for a mob that is shortly to surge forth and burn a papier-mache Rome. And I learned that the "extra" girls received $7 a day.

"RAVING BEAUTIES" NOT WANTED

IT WAS in the studio building that we heard words of wisdom concerning these "extra" girls and their male supers. The words fell from the lips of a very blase young man upon the door of whose office was the legend "Assistant Director." Cabinets of card indexes were backed up against the walls whose spaces were covered from floor to ceiling with a most astonishing gallery of photographic pulchritude. "Yeah, they're all extra girls," he said, indicating the photographs, "and in the cabinets, there, I keep the dope on them, filed." Opening one of the cabinets, he took a card.

"When a girl comes in here for a job," the assistant director explained, "the first thing I do is to size up her face. Will she photograph? We're not looking for raving beauties—we're looking for types. The really pretty girl, the girl whose facial measurements are classic, rarely makes good later as an actress. It's the distinctive type of person that we're looking out for. The girl with somewhat heavy facial bone structure, with eyes wide apart, and breadth of face under the eyes, with flat surfaces on her face, with glossy hair, and with eyes that photograph well—she is the girl we're looking for. For example, Mary Pickford looks beautiful on the screen; off the screen she is not beautiful. Her features are rather coarse, yet it is that very quality that makes her photograph beautiful. The girl whose face quickly goes back, recedes, will not photograph well. She looks hatchet-faced on the screen; she has no broad surfaces to catch the light. Also, a pale complexion looks better on the screen than beautifully colored cheeks, which present a mottled effect. So, after sizing up the girl

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

photographically, I then, if she looks all right, ask her to fill out this card." He showed me the printed form which required information as to experience, weight, height, age, what roles she thought herself suited to, did she have an evening dress, a sport suit? Could she swim, ride a horse, drive a car? "See, the girl fills that in herself," and the Assistant Director allowed himself a grin. "Then, when she has gone, I turn the card over and fill it in myself. You see, what a girl thinks she is suited to she is generally not suited to. Look at this card," and he showed me the record some girl made of herself. Opposite the item concerning roles she was best suited to the girl had written "society girl." But alas! on the back of the card the Assistant Director had decided—"French maid."

And, likewise, from the records of the male extras, was it evident that self-appraisal errs more often than not where the movies are concerned. For on one card, of a young college graduate, I saw on the back that the Cerberus of the studio had enthusiastically written "fine type for East Side gunman." So, girls and young men, if you would become movie stars, be not discouraged if you are not put to work after your first interview. A good Assistant Director is sizing you up when he is talking to you; and some day, when they need a princess of royal blood or a shoplifter, you'll get a 'phone call to come to the studio after you think they've forgotten you.

WHAT SUCCESS IN THE MOVIES IS

AT THE studios it became evident that success in the movies is not so much a question of pull as it is of luck and opportunity. On one of the stages there was pointed out to us a young actor whose salary, we were told, was $300 a week. "It's his first year in pictures. He used to be the secretary of a New York politician. One night our director, Mr. X——, met him at a party—brought him out here with him and started him at $200 a week. The director could tell at a glance that the young man would photograph well; he was intelligent, and he had just the personality needed for a certain part."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Success does come like that in the movies.

Over on one of the stages they were photographing the final scenes of a book by one of America's best known authors. It was a moment of retrospection for the actor; the character was "broke" in a Paris garret, and thinking what had gone before. It amounted to a silent soliloquy, a conveyance to the future audience by his changing facial expressions, a tremendous mental effort. To aid him, four stringed instruments were softly playing; the director in a coaxing tone was suggesting the incidents of the past called up in his reverie. The great arc-lights were on; the camera was recording; all was quiet—then a sound of lumber falling; a brawny voice from the end of the studio, "Hey, youse guys, shake a leg here. The boss says this set's gotta be built by tonight."

And the stringed instruments played on; and the director was saying, "Then that night in the garden—" and the actor, still lost in the character, played on. Hammers began to clatter at the other end of the studio. Yet the scene was played out, and played well. How do they do it? Are movie actors human?

Another time we motored down to the sea at Santa Monica where, on the cliff, the movie people had built the room of a house. I asked why they had not built this in the studio, and they said, "Look toward the window of the room." And one saw framed there a bit of the sea, and rugged headland beyond.

"We wanted that effect to be visible to the audience through the window," the director explained.

"But couldn't you have gotten it by hanging a painted scene in the studio?" I persisted. "The cost of this thing—you've done some concreting work here, the labor, the transportation of labor and artists—the time?"

He looked scornful. "What of it?" he asked. "We have done it right. A few years ago we would have faked this in a studio—the cheap companies do it now—but when some billion admissions are taken in at the box office every year, you can afford to put big money in a production, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

do it right. And don't fool yourself that an audience doesn't appreciate your doing it right. Why, I've often spent $5000 just to get one scene right."

STAGGERING SUMS SPENT

WE HAVE all of us wondered how much *real* money they put into productions at California. At the studio they had just completed a big production, and I was able to copy off the expenditures from the actual final tabulated cost sheet. Here they are:

COST OF PRODUCTION

Director and Assistant	$3,926.30
Cameraman and Assistant	3,615.85
Raw Stock	395.48
Developing and Printing	3,048.53
Sets	5,579.12
Stills	369.35
Props	4,263.79
Rental of Props	3,111.40
Rental of Lamps	1.00
Rental of Autos	5,384.85
Regular Actors	15,266.96
Extra Actors	24,255.35
Locations	21,914.18
Electricians	516.60
Propertymen	1,352.50
Wardrobe and Drapery	3,174.55
Studio Rent	3,000.00
Office Expense and Telegrams	775.19
Standby	121.00
Titles and Inserts	1,774.24
Administration	1,983.68
Publicity	1,522.99
General Expense	305.47
X—— Y——, Director	13,500.00
Total	$119,158.38

But, of course, any such staggering outlay of money is the extraordinary. That picture is what Movieland calls a "special"—a production which the backers fondly hope will play week runs at theatres and gross them anywhere from half a million to a million dollars. And it was possible to learn at the studios how much real money goes into the average movie as you see it; it is a range from $25,000 to $50,000.

DRURY COLLEGE LIBRARY
Springfield, Missouri

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW "SETS" ARE BUILT

WE WENT into one of the great sheds, called studios, that had a floor space 100 x 220 feet upon which "sets" could be built. Here stood three walls of a ship's salon, the fourth (non-existent) being the opening through which the camera photographed the scene to be played therein. And just across the studio floor stood the massive oaken walls and staircase of a manor house, and, beyond that, one glimpsed the interior of a "church." At the far end of the studio, carpenters were building Napoleon's tomb in the Invalides—the circular visitors' gallery towering above it.

"First," they told us, "the director, after reading the story, decides what scenes will be required. Then he sends a memorandum to his Art Director. (In this studio, by the way, that person turned out to be a famous architect, graduate of the Beaux Arts, who is known for the Italian studio he built in the home of Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney.) The art director then makes rough sketches of his conception of the scenes. Once these are approved by the director they are done again as finished drawings. From these, blue prints are made and sent to the shop."

The "shop" turned out to be a young furniture factory or place where portable houses are built—a large building, buzzing with machinery. Sawdust flew from electrically-driven saws only to be sucked in by great ventilators, depending from the ceiling like inverted bowls.

"The walls of the sets," our guide explained, "and all woodwork are built here—also, incidentally, any period of furniture that may be called for by the specifications of the pictures,"—he dipped a prodigious wink—"yes, we all have our bungalows furnished very nicely."

It was in another studio shed that we saw how the sets were prepared for the players. There they stood, four sets of wooden walls in various stages of completion. Here painters were staining the woodwork the color of mahogany; there, men were hanging wall paper; over there where a set was all papered and painted, interior decorators were drap-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing it with curtains and hangings; while in a last set furniture was being arranged, pictures hung, and knick-knacks placed with cunning eye to make it look "lived in." And the business manager of one of the companies later showed me his cost sheet for a recent production. One was staggered to see that "props" alone, the dressing of the bare sets, had cost $6,333.57; and that the construction of the sets came to $21,271.93—a total of $27,605.50, so that your eye would be pleased by attractive backgrounds. And you, who have been told of the fabulous salaries of movie actors and actresses, consider that in this big special picture this total of $27,605.50 had been paid for scenery, so to speak, whereas the total expenditure for performers, including "supes," was but $19,470.71; and that one man, the director, got $15,375—or more than all his actors and actresses, excluding supes, put together. And while the business manager is good enough to let us glimpse at the secret figures of movie production, we pick up the fact that of the $100,000 spent upon this production, 6½ per cent of it was for camera negative, developing and printing, that the hire of automobiles claimed 4½ per cent, that the cameraman and his assistant got about 3 per cent, that lighting lamps and electricians in the studio cost about 2 per cent and studio rental almost 3 per cent. So it is obvious that the big movie, you may see, drew most heavily upon the producer's bankroll for sets, actors and director.

It seemed to us that the decorator who was superintending the dressing of one of the sets, was using outlandish tastes. A liberal use of yellows, reds and blues assailed the eye, and one ventured if the room was to convey a hasheesh-eater's paradise.

"Not at all," our guide smiled. "Red, you see, photographs black, and light blue, white. Yellow gives a soft gray."

SCREEN MAKE-UP VERY DIFFICULT

AND THEN we noticed how these photographic oddities had been heeded in the make-up of the actors. None had rouge on his face, only grease paint,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dusted with yellowish powder. Those who had full color in their lips had not rouged them, for to have done that would have been to invite heavy black lips in their photographed image. We chatted with an actor who was waiting to be called for a scene on one of the distant sets.

"Make-up for the screen," he said, "is much more difficult than for the stage. In the theatre we are at a distance from the audience and behind bright lights which cover errors of make-up. But in this game, brought close up to the camera, we are magnified many times. This necessitates the greatest care in make-up. On the speaking stage, a streak of grease paint will give a splendid effect for a scar. The same trick used for the screen, however, would produce nothing but a black line. We have to draw the skin together to make a deep crease; this is held in place by adhesive tape. Then the crease is filled with a mixture of collodion which, upon drying, holds the skin drawn. The tape is then removed and, upon photographing, there is presented on the screen a scar that fools a surgeon."

We presently left the big "community studio" and motored to an enormous plant owned by a widely-known movie company. Here we were fortunate to see a rehearsal in progress. There sat the star in gay Spanish costume, an operatic star also of international fame; nearby was her husband, a Broadway leading man, one of those lights of the theatre who no longer jeer at the movies. And he was to do some he-vamping for the camera. The director who was conducting the rehearsal was making his company play the important situations, speaking lines, sobbing and ranting, as they would have done in the theatre. And, being good actors, they looked quite bored when a performer other than themselves held the center of the stage; and they stood in little groups whispering about new cars they were going to buy, and shouldn't one have a cottage at the beach as well as in Hollywood; and "I'd have run away with that last picture I did with Pauline Frederick, only she made the director cut out my best scenes—"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A "TEMPERAMENTAL" WOMAN STAR

IT WAS a strange world, the inhabitants of which in one moment strode forth to portray the most idealistic character from a "best seller's" pages; and in the next instant left the rehearsal stage with a "Hey, Bill, gimme a drag. I'm dying for a smoke." And to leave the bed-side of a dying child in the "movie" and catching hold of an actress begin jazzing with her—the character of the play, shaken off as one would shake off a coat—well!

They are an interesting company, your favorite stars. I have seen them on and off duty. Some of them possess what is called "temperament," an emotional luxury to be indulged in on any occasion save in the presence of "cops." In one studio, they were still speaking with feeling of a recent excursion into temperament by a very popular woman star. For the "punch scene" of the picture, a stupendous set had been built in the studio, several hundred "extras" had been hired, all her high-salaried supporting company, her $1000-a-week director, were waiting. The lady was due on the "set" at 9 a. m. Time passed—no star. At eleven the director plucked up courage to telephone her. "It is a cloudy day," she said, "I miss my sunshine. I am depressed. I am not in the mood to work."

"But," pleaded the director, "the set is ready, the extras, the cost—"

"That is all, Mr. X," the lady said. "You should know better than to bother me with such things."

So there was no work done that day, albeit the payroll and rental wait for no man or woman. Because of the star's temperament about $1500 had to be charged to profit and loss.

In another studio, I found a movie star who was most businesslike. He had a secretary whose task it was to answer every note sent the star by movie fans; and to get out postals whenever a new film of the star was issued, advising all who had ever written to him that his latest picture was about to be "released." And I found that this star was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

very much of a human being, that he regarded his work as one would regard a business, that he lived his life so as to be physically and mentally "fit" for it; and that he saved his money.

HOW MOVIELAND AMUSES ITSELF

WHEN one considers that there are ex-bartenders, milk-wagon drivers, telephone girls, manicurists, stenographers, chauffeurs and lawyers out in Movieland taking anywhere from $250 to $1000 a week out of the movies, and that many of them simply throw away their money on motors, clothes and jewelry, it becomes clear why Los Angeles' prosperity has been so boomed by the studios. Of course, the money does not drain through the hands of all the stars. One hears in Movieland that Charlie Chaplin once said that he could not afford a luxury until he had a million dollars; and there is nothing loud or extravagant about the funny man today. And there are stars who have done good with their money, very decently concealing it from their press agents. It took considerable "digging" for me to run down the trail of Mary Pickford's charities in Los Angeles—a big children's asylum. At the foot of each bed was a woolen bathrobe and a pair of slippers—a gift from Mary, who is ever visiting the asylum giving pleasure to the little tots.

When you come to know Movieland you know that many of the stars are to be found on Tuesday nights at Vernon and on Saturday nights at Venice—both brief motor-runs from Los Angeles. The prize-fights draw them to Vernon and you see Fairbanks, Fatty Arbuckle, and all the great, and near-great, sitting around the ring, wagering hundreds, thousands, on the chances of pugilists of whose ability they knew nothing—nor care. And on Saturday nights in Venice, at the "Ship," a cafe built to suggest the interior of a ship's salon, a place of tables, waxed floor for jazzing, and liquid refreshment brought in packages, one saw many of the stars — never mind who — so gay and carefree and careless, as to make the puritanical heart cease in its beat. And if one knew where, and the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proper night, there was always a cycle of "bungalow parties" going on in Hollywood where Movieland lives—very, very late and very, very wild parties where very few of the great and very many of the almost-great played.

But as it was impressed upon me, the magnitude of Movieland, the enormous sums of money involved, the strain the manufacturing of "fake emotions" eight—even ten—hours a day makes upon actors and actresses, the big responsibilities of a director—will the product, into the making of which thousands of dollars are poured, sell or not? And one thought that it was a hard, exacting game, whose competition is so intense that the weak are bound to fall; and that some day many persons will wake up to find that their day is done and to reflect that in picture-making, today, too much play does not mix particularly well with work. For their are signs in Movieland of the stars and the big directors of today, many of them, slipping, and of new and virile youths surging up to the top.

NOT WITH A SOUND OF TRUMPETS

By MARGARET E. SANGSTER

Not with a sound of trumpet calls and drums,
Not with the sudden ringing noise of cheers—
Wistfully as a smile that follows tears,
Silently as a dream, the New Year comes.

Over a world made white and wan with dread,
Over an earth dyed with greed's crimson stain,
Like a pale singing light, Faith comes again—
While Hope lifts up, once more, her drooping head.

And we, whose feet have faltered in life's race,
We who will never wear the wreath of bay;
Raise patient eyes to meet the new-born day—
Brave eyes that smile into the Future's face!

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MY PRINCIPLES OF CITIZENSHIP

"POLITICS IS NOT AN END BUT A MEANS—IT IS THE ART OF GOVERNMENT"

By GOVERNOR CALVIN COOLIDGE
(An interview with The Forum)

"WE LIVE in an age which questions everything. The past generation was one of religious criticism. This is one of commercial criticism," said Calvin Coolidge, an American whose principles of citizenship, which the people endorsed by re-electing him Governor of Massachusetts, have cut away the radical underbrush.

It is stimulating to question everything, but a man who can restore such disorder of opinions, must do so by the wisdom of his personal life.

An army of men, through the medium of their newspapers, have spent the energy and force of their craft interpreting Coolidge a miracle-man—not of politics but of statesmanship. The personal qualities of Coolidge have been difficult to adapt to the human-interest story, because he has himself balked at the usual processes. To know a man well is often to see him with mediocre vision, perspective is required to see him in the full power and purpose of his being.

For many years Coolidge practised law in the tight, puritanical little New England city of Northampton, Massachusetts. For years, his residence has been a small frame house there. Since he has been elected Governor he has rented two rooms in a hotel in Boston as his official residence. There are those who would call this modest way of living indication that he is mediocre, and there are hundreds of thousands in the country, who, living just like him, know that these are the habitual methods of intelligent

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

citizens. They combine the best principles of good citizenship, thrift, industry, democracy of temperament. The growth of citizenship is one of the deepest elements of the Coolidge miracle.

One gathers from all he said, that any good citizen reasonably keyed to the broad issues of the period to which he belongs is a distinguished figure, for so he may grow in moral force, from things untold, from the inner sources that are the mould and substance of the man himself. Coolidge has demonstrated that celebrity in national life is not a matter of personality, of stature or impressive voice. It is a normal quality as natural to the soundness of character as the human balance of walking downstairs. It is lacking only in men who are abnormal. How Calvin Coolidge has retained this balance of principle was shown in an abnormal period, during the police strike in Boston. How he restored the principles of citizenship in the midst of the disorder of that strike is the result of a lifetime of legislative conscience. This is the story of his evolution, a mental picture of Coolidge.

There is, in the thoughts and utterances of the man, an analysis of ideas that go into the making of a hundred per cent American citizen, ideas that function from the sources of patriotic allegiance (from which the reader may trace the manner of thinking and living of Governor Coolidge), which is the inheritance of all Americans who have grown into vigorous comprehension of American citizenship.

"Men do not make laws," said Coolidge. "They do but discover them. Laws must be justified by something more than the will of the majority. They must rest on the eternal foundation of righteousness." He was about to take the first step in executive experience when he said this, while acknowledging the honor of becoming President of the Senate of his State. Out of the threatening atmosphere of the great war which was then menacing Europe, he must have felt something of its aftermath. This was one of his earliest statements that revealed his personal conception of citizenship. It is interesting to follow his mental proc-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

esses from this point. Much that he said on that occasion may serve to translate certain close-fitting principles of his own, that seem like new matter, though they were only constitutional thoughts opposing those dangerous standards that have menaced the world since the War's upheavals.

Addressing the State Senate then, he said:

PRINCIPLES OF LAW AND ORDER

"THE WELFARE of the weakest and the welfare of the most powerful are inseparably bound together. Industry cannot flourish if labor languishes. Transportation cannot prosper if manufactures decline. The general welfare cannot be provided for in any one act, but it is well to remember that the benefit of one is the benefit of all, and the neglect of one is the neglect of all. The suspension of one man's dividends is the suspension of another man's pay envelope. Courts are established, not to determine popularity of a clause, but to adjudicate and enforce rights. No litigant should be required to submit his case to the hazard of expense of a political campaign. No judge should be required to seek or receive political rewards. The electorate and judiciary cannot be combined. A hearing means a hearing. When the trial of causes goes outside the court room, Anglo-Saxon constitutional government ends."

In weighing the fundamental principles of law and order, he further reveals the stamina of a man who has always been indifferent to political exactions.

"The people cannot look to legislation generally for success," he said. "Industry, thrift, character, are not conferred by act or result. Government cannot relieve from toil. It can provide no substitute for the rewards of service. It can, of course, care for the defective and recognize distinguished merit. The normal must care for themselves. Self-government means self-support."

Democracy of feeling is the chief element of the Coolidge brand of citizenship. He seems to have lived without envy or malice, with a clear perception of class distinctions that he saw would threaten the staunch democratic principles of American citizenship.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In this relation he said:

"History reveals no civilized people among whom there were not a highly educated class, and large aggregations of wealth, represented usually by the clergy and the nobility. Inspiration has always come from above. Diffusion of learning has come down from the university to the common school—the kindergarten is last. No one would now expect to aid the common school by abolishing higher education.

LARGE PROFITS MEAN LARGE PAY ROLLS

"IT MAY be that the diffusion of wealth works in an analogous way. As the little red schoolhouse is builded in the college, it may be that the fostering and protection of large aggregations of wealth are the only foundation on which to build the prosperity of the whole people. Large profits mean large pay rolls. But profits must be the result of service performed. In no land are there so many and such large aggregations of wealth as here; in no land do they perform larger service; in no land will the work of a day bring so large a reward in material and spiritual welfare."

Up to this time, when these thoughts were so well expressed, so finely crystallized, Coolidge had been studying, silently assembling the functions of citizenship that seemed to be inherent to him. Up to this time, he had been one among many men in legislative employment whose political prospects attracted no attention. There is no place in his record, that one can find, when he seemed to seek a political horoscope of his future.

"Do the day's work," has been his prevailing slogan, which is the orderly process of normal citizenship. He measures issues, that might have political chances in them, with a plumb line that all can see. Nor does he exert the spellbinder's trick of forcing an issue to further a policy. He has the gift of applying arithmetic to public morals. He knew what to expect in politics and how to avoid those expectations.

"Expect to be called a demagogue, but don't be a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

demagogue," he said. "Don't hesitate to be as revolutionary as science. Don't hesitate to be as reactionary as the multiplication table. Don't expect to build the weak by pulling down the strong. If it be to help a powerful corporation better to serve the people, whatever the opposition, do that. Expect to be called the stand-patter, but don't be a stand-patter."

Before the executive chances came to him, he had reached definite conclusions relating to their responsibilities.

"Give administration a chance to catch up with legislation," he said, "statutes must appeal to more than material welfare, wages won't satisfy, be they ever so large. Man has a spiritual nature. Touch it, and it must respond as the magnet responds to the pole."

He thinks deep as a scholar, and he talks in no trance of words. One feels no personal attraction to this rare man, but one leaves him with a clear vision, with better reasoning powers to meet one's experiences. He is of New England stock, with the pioneering instinct inherited from that ancestry. A silent man, negligent of vanity even in his best mood of oratory. For a man so young—he is only forty-seven—he is advanced in the wisdom of principles that much older men never discover.

Of the early development of American principles he said:

DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN PRINCIPLES

"HISTORY is the revelation. It is the manifestation in human affairs of a 'power not ourselves that makes for righteousness.' Savages have no history. It is the mark of civilization. New England, for instance, slumbered from the dawn of creation until the beginning of the 17th century, not unpeopled, but with no record of human events worthy of a name. Different races came, and lived and vanished, but the story of their existence has little more of interest for us than the story the naturalist tells of the animal kingdom, or the geologist relates of the formation of the crust of the earth. It takes men of larger vision and a higher inspiration, with a power to impart a larger vision

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and a higher inspiration to the people, to make history. It is not a negative, but a positive achievement. It is unconcerned with building of despotism or treason or rebellion or betrayal, but bows in reverence before Moses or Hampden or Washington or Lincoln, or the Light that shone on Calvary. The principles set out in the Declaration of Independence are older than the Christian religion, or Greek philosophy. Democracy is not a tearing down; it is a building up. It is not a denial of the divine right of kings; it supplements that claim with the assertion of the divine right of all men. It does not destroy; it fulfills. It is the consummation of all theories of government, to the spirit of which all the nations of the earth must yield. It is the great constructive force of the ages. There is and can be no more doubt of the triumph of democracy in human affairs, than there is of the triumph of gravitation in the physical world; the only question is how and when. Its foundation lays hold upon eternity."

These are the solid interpretations of our national ideals upon which Calvin Coolidge has rooted his distinguished claim to American citizenship. In them there is the sweep and impulse that are the impressive characteristics of the men who signed the Declaration of Independence. Steeped in the pure statesmanship of that document, Coolidge approaches politics with equal reverence, with the same precepts and principles that he gathers along the historical fareway of American history. Political intelligence may become, in this man's fine perceptions of executive responsibility, a desirable ideal, for what he says of politics seems like something that has never been said before.

WHAT POLITICS MEANS

"POLITICS is not an end, but a means," he said. "It is not a product, but a process. It is the art of government. Like other values it has its counterfeits. So much emphasis has been put upon the false, that the significance of the true has been obscured, and politics has come to convey the meaning of crafty and cunning selfishness, instead of candid and sincere service. The Greek

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

derivation shows the nobler purpose. Politics means city-rearing, state-craft. And when we remember that city also meant civilization, the spurious presentment, mean and sordid, drops away and the real figure of the politician, dignified and honorable, a minister to civilization, author and finisher of government, is revealed in its true and dignified proportions. Why some succeed in public life and others fail would be as difficult to tell as why some succeed or fail in other activities.

"Very few men in America have started out with any fixed idea of entering public life, fewer still would admit having such an idea. For centuries some seats in the British Parliament were controlled and probably sold, as were commissions in the army, but that has never been the case here. A certain Congressman, however, on arriving at Washington was asked by an old friend how he happened to be elected. He replied that he was not elected, but appointed. It is worth while noting that the boss who was then supposed to hold the power of appointment in that district has been driven from power, but the Congressman has been re-elected. All of which suggests that the boss did not appoint in the first instance, but was merely well enough informed to see what the people wanted before they had formulated their own opinions and desires. It was said of McKinley that he could tell what Congress would do on a certain measure before the men in Congress themselves knew what their decision was to be. 'Joe' Cannon has said of McKinley that his ear was so close to the ground that it was full of grasshoppers. Every native-born American, however, is potentially a President, and it must always be remembered that the obligation to serve the state is forever binding upon all, although office is the gift of the people.

"In years gone by, the United States Senate has been rather marked for its number of rich men. Few prominent members of Congress are dependent on their salary, which is but another way of saying that in Washington, Senators and Representatives need more than their official salaries to become most effective.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WRONG IDEAS OF PUBLIC LIFE

"BUT THE inexperienced are prone to hold an erroneous idea of public life and its methods. There are dishonest men in public office, but our public men as a class, are inspired by honorable and patriotic motives. Public men must expect criticisms and be prepared to endure false charges from their opponents. It is a matter of no great concern to them. But public confidence in government is a matter of great concern. It is necessary to differentiate between partisan assertions and actual conditions. It is necessary to recognize worth as well as to condemn graft. No system of government can stand that lacks public confidence, and no progress can be made on the assumption of false premise.

"I do not feel that there is any more obligation to run for office than there is to become a banker, a merchant, a teacher, or enter any other special occupation. There is no catalogue of capacity in politics. One man gets results in one way, another in another. But in general only the man of broad sympathy and deep understanding of his fellow men can meet with much success. What I have said relates to the somewhat narrow field of office-holding."

We gather from these opinions uttered by Calvin Coolidge, that he is not a politician of the old school, for he is eternally bound by the progress of principles *versus* politics. Whether he idealizes or not, is beside the issue. His recent re-election infers that he is intensely practical. Before closing the door on this interesting subject, in its immediate relations to the career of Governor Coolidge, the following statement from him becomes important:

"The State is not founded on selfishness," he said. "It cannot maintain itself by the offer of material rewards. It is the opportunity for service."

The victory which Governor Coolidge has achieved is not one of politics, but it is a victory of ideals that make good citizens, it is a victory of principles.

Being an effort to present a mental picture of Coolidge, this story suggests an impression that it would be well to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

weigh men that way. Instead of examining his photograph, let us examine his ideas, and learn the calibre of mind that has placed him in the arena of national life.

Coolidge-ideas are worth teaching, because they are principles of citizenship.

MIDNIGHT AND SILENCE

By RALPH THOMSON

Midnight and silence, and the earth in dreams!—
  Between the zenith and the waiting West,
An age-worn moon, in tender fancy, beams
  On nodding trees, and birds and beasts at rest.

Across the reaches of the untracked sky
  Stars smile at one another; clouds as light
As silken spider-webs, and quite as shy
  As untamed fawns, scurry from human sight.

The diapasons of the blind winds fall
  In lulling symphonies on the brown grass;
Numb Nature shivers under Winter's pall,
  And Heaven watches while the moments pass!

Midnight and silence; and a prayer love-fanned,
  And wafted upward from the same heart-pew,
That your rare soul may, somehow, understand
  The first thought of the New Year is of—you!

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SMITHKINS FAMILY STRIKE

By LEWIS ALLEN BROWNE

CERTAIN tongue-waggers in our suburb are going to be disappointed when I set both Mr. and Mrs. Smithkins right in a matter that has started a little scandal. I can give every assurance that there were no broken ties, no infidelities—nothing at all but a family strike.

I can hear our gossipers—than whom there are no "than-whomist" in any suburb—exclaim that such a thing is absurd. It was absurd. I know the entire story. It didn't start out as a strike at all, it didn't seem to start, it just drifted into the family and, lo and behold, one fine morning there it was!

Every family man is thoroughly familiar with that dread list of expressions, "I wish I had," "I would like," "I want," "Why can't I have?" and "I positively *must* have."

Smithkins was no exception. He has been getting them for years. Recently they seemed to leap up before him like a tidal wave, threatening to engulf him, his ready cash, his bank account and his borrowing capacity.

Mrs. Smithkins had seen Mrs. Gardener in a perfect dream of a moleskin coat. A double application of tinted *poudre de riz* could not hide the envious green tint that lurked in her pretty face.

"Where in ever they get the money I cannot for the life of me imagine," she remarked to Smithkins, "but if Gardener can afford a moleskin coat for Hatty, with his small salary, I am sure you can get me one. I priced them yesterday. There are some wonderful bargains at Fuzzy & Wuzzy, the Furriers."

Smithkins smiled pleasantly. "A moleskin coat isn't a bargain—it is a fortune."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Smithkins smiled soothingly and went to his office while Mrs. Smithkins went to her room and tried to think out a moleskin-coat-winning campaign until there were wrinkles between her pretty eyes.

Next morning she mentioned the coat, in a rather listless way, said listlessness being a part of her game.

"Oh, that moleskin coat you were talking to me about —you remember?"

"But, Mommer, you have a perfect duck of a mink coat now and we actually need a town car, we are almost shabby without it," put in Mildred, the eldest Smithkins daughter.

Smithkins eyed her, furtively, in her morning negligee. She was far from shabby. The good old touring car, with its protective top and sides up, glistened in the cold morning sunlight. There wasn't a shabby spot about it.

LIMOUSINE COATS AND MOLESKIN CARS

SMITHKINS ate his morning toast and egg and went away in a sort of mental daze with an admixture of phrases about moleskin cars and limousine coats ringing in his ears. The world-without-end season of "I want" and "I must have" was upon him.

Jack, the Smithkins first-born, plainly told his father that the folks were silly. "We've got a darned good family car, Dad. We don't need a limousine any more than a Kentucky colonel needs a drink of water. What we do need is a little sporting car, something in canary yellow, twelve-cylinder, basket seats—you know the kind, a foreign boat that can simply burn up the roads. Now that's something sensible. We've simply got to have that."

And then it was little Bob, in grammar school, who decided that he simply must have one of those little buckboard cars. "Gee, Pop, all th' boys has got 'em. They only cost $250, got a two-cylinder motor 'n everything."

Smithkins laughed. Bob knew the laugh, it meant "no" and Bob was not patient.

"I don't see why? Gee whizz, I hafter go to school and plug all day long. I never get no fun. I orter have

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that little buckboard car, I gotter have one. What's the use of me going to school all th' time if I don't get nothin' for it?"

"You are getting an education—"

"Aw, rawspberries!" exclaimed Bob. No father on earth can combat that argument.

A little later Mrs. Smithkins innocently remarked that "everyone is making a bushel of money these days."

"And spending two bushels," said Smithkins.

"Sure—such as shoes and stockings, some clothes and beds and a roof and a snack of corned beef and cabbage now and then, am I right?" asked Smithkins with a jocular air intended to oil the troubled domestic waters. But the waves wouldn't stay flat.

Jack couldn't see why he should bother to plug at his post-graduate course and be a dutiful son and all that if he couldn't have a little thing like a foreign car now and then. Mrs. Smithkins got an inspiration from this. She was a bit more diplomatic about it at first.

"You know, dear, that the poor woman who slaves to keep up a good establishment really needs encouragement and reward. She deserves a few little pleasures and perhaps a semi-luxury or two."

"Like a moleskin coat?" queried Smithkins.

"But dear, don't be absurd. You can afford it. Think of the money you are making."

CLOUDS ON THE SMITHKINS HORIZON

"WHEN I can think of the money I am making as something in excess of what I am spending, it will be a pleasure. At present it hurts to think of money," and Smithkins was quite serious about it.

All this did not happen in a day or week, it popped up here and there, now and then, with more and more frequency and more and more persistency until Smithkins began to dread coming home from the office at night and coming down to breakfast in the morning.

Little Bob became almost Bolsheviki in his demands,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and in his thinly veiled hints that he'd "be darned if I go to the old school any more."

Mildred hinted darkly of betaking herself to a nunnery and forsaking the stingy old world, so long as she couldn't have a limousine to travel about in. Jack said he preferred to walk and let people think he was exercising rather than to jaunt about in the old touring car.

And Mrs. Smithkins greeted him with a bandaged head one evening. She explained, pathetically, that it was a headache caused by being shut up all day, unable to get out and get the air.

Ah, that was the point to which she was leading!

"I cannot go out. I'm downright shabby. I have no coat," she wailed.

The climax came when Bob was heard muttering something to the effect that "Pop" was an old "tightwad." Mildred ventured her opinion that father had no parental affection whatever for his own offspring. Jack was more diplomatic. He borrowed an old Lew Fields joke to the effect that he could be arrested for what he was thinking about the old man. Mrs. Smithkins openly told her husband that he was becoming penurious, that he was stingy.

Smithkins had long prided himself as being the most generous of family men, of even running his drawing account to the hair-edge of overdrawing to pamper his family, and this was about the limit with him. He gave it serious thought and then he tried to muster up sufficient courage to spring his plan. Events helped him. Bob played hookey from school a few times, Mildred went about looking like a combination of a lost soul and Niobe, Jack was flunking terribly and Mrs. Smithkins remained in her room most of the time during Smithkins' presence.

"It looks to me very like a strike, Esmeralda," he said. He never used her full name like that unless he was displeased. She looked at him defiantly.

THE FAMILY STRIKE IS ON!

"IF YOU think it is a family strike, my dear, then make the most of it."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"But you haven't walked out."

"Don't be absurd!"

"My family has cornered all the absurdity there is. Look here, Esmeralda, if this is a family strike then I'll have to capitulate!

"You darling! Then I get the coat and—and everything?" and Mrs. Smithkins leaped up with a smile, her pale lassitude gone instantly.

"No," said Smithkins, "you do not get the coat and everything, if by 'everything' you mean foreign cars and a lot of other luxuries. But you get everything with my new system. Today the victim of a strike turns over his business to the strikers. Since it is a family strike and I am the head of the family and the strike is directed to me—and especially to my suffering purse, I shall step down and out as head of the family. You know exactly my income. I shall take enough of that to live comfortably at my club in town, and the remainder I shall turn over to you. No bills, remember? I shall stop all charge accounts. Woman being such a born bargain-hunter, she can doubtless manage my family finances better than I."

"Surely you don't mean it?" begged Mrs. Smithkins.

But Smithkins did mean it. He explained clearly, and pleasantly, that it was an experiment, that he loved them all and that his going to the club to live meant only that it was a necessary part of his capitulation, and so he packed a couple of bags, kissed friend wife and daughter, shook hands with the boys and departed.

The Smithkinses were a trifle uneasy at first. Mrs. Smithkins assured them that it was only a whim and that he would find out that they could have the things they needed—Oh yes, she said "needed"—and get along quite as well.

Every week Smithkins sent a check for most of his weekly income. He had always drawn a weekly allowance from his business, for home management, every year the surplus margin becoming smaller and smaller. But to Mrs. Smithkins the check seemed a fortune.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Within three weeks she had her moleskin coat, and was supremely happy.

"We'll turn in the old car and get the limousine next," she told them.

THAT DISMAL FIRST OF THE MONTH

AND then came the first of the month with a stack of bills which she blandly gathered up and sent to Mr. Smithkins at his club. These Smithkins looked over and promptly returned with a little note to the effect that they must be paid by her out of the money he was sending her as he had allowed for himself only enough to live on.

"The very idea!" exclaimed Mrs. Smithkins.

Smithkins dropped in occasionally for a Sunday dinner with his folks, always cheerful, always interested in how they were getting along.

"Beautifully," was the stereotyped reply of Mrs. Smithkins.

Then one day Mrs. Smithkins tried to use the telephone and was aghast to find out that it had been disconnected. She had not paid the bill.

And then Peters, the furnace man, informed her that he had barely enough coal for the next day.

"What shall I do?" she cried.

"You might buy some more," suggested Peters.

She ordered it. "Cash on delivery," was the response, "how much?"

"We use about twenty tons I believe," she told the man at the coal office.

"Two hundred and ten dollars," was the reply.

"I—I'll have a ton," faltered Mrs. Smithkins.

The two maids and the cook timidly reminded her that since Mr. Smithkins had been away she had forgotten to pay them.

This left her with about three dollars until the end of the week, and it also left her very much worried. She went outside and telephoned Smithkins.

"I'll have to have some money to tide me over, dear."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Smithkins smiled grimly, but was sweetly sympathetic over the 'phone.

"I suggest that you sell your moleskin coat, Esmeralda."

"You are insulting!" she cried and hung up the receiver.

Little Bob was sore. Mother had her coat and the limousine was ordered and soon to be delivered and he got nothing. He'd be darned if he'd go to school.

Mother said she should whip him.

"Rawspberries!" said Bob.

Mother threw up her hands in despair and Bob stayed out of school.

IT'S A SAD STORY—BUT TRUE

JACK began to lay down the law. Why should the women hog everything? He had some rights. He needed a new evening suit and he wanted that canary-yellow car, and his allowance wasn't enough. Women folks made him good and tired, and a lot of other things very disquieting to Mrs. Smithkins.

The tradesmen began to send bills.

"Mercy, I forgot about them!" she gasped and so most of the next two weeks' checks went to the tradesmen.

Once more the servants reminded her that she had again forgotten them.

Almost every week it was another ton of coal. And such odd, unbelievable bills, such as the garbage man, $1.25 a month, and the water bill, and then a street improvement tax, and the regular annual taxes, and gas bills, electric light bills, the plumber charged her $16 for about an hour's work. They were imposing on her, she declared. Then she got out the cancelled checks of her husband's household accounts and went over them.

"My goodness, almost every day he made out some check for somebody!" she wailed.

The new town car was ready. By turning in the old car there was only a balance of $1975 to pay. Mrs. Smithkins had almost $300 in her purse, alongside bills calling for $455. The car would be delivered when the old car was turned in and the balance paid.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Send my husband the bill," exclaimed Mrs. Smithkins, with a guilty feeling. A few days later she was notified that Mr. Smithkins had not ordered a car and knew nothing about it and would not pay for it.

The servants, suspecting something, had boldly demanded more money because Smithkins was gone.

Several gay parties, dinners and receptions at home, arranged by Mrs. Smithkins just to show the gossiping "friends" how happy she was, had cost her an alarming lot. Caterers were charging terrific prices these days. The tradespeople seemed to send bigger bills than ever before.

Mrs. Smithkins found some gray hairs, and some new wrinkles. She also found herself counting the days and hours until the weekly check came and then she discovered that it was all gone within two days and more bills.

To herself she asked, "However did he do it? How did he keep things going?"

AN "S-O-S" FOR SMITHKINS

SMITHKINS had not forbidden Mildred to run up a charge account and she did so. Jack had accumulated unusual debts. Little Bob was becoming a town tough, loafing about, going with bad boys. There wasn't a day but what something went wrong and finally the arrival of three bill collectors in one day was the last straw. Mrs. Smithkins had never seen a bill collector before she organized the great and glorious Smithkins Family Strike.

She sent for Smithkins.

"What shall I do?" she wailed.

"Buy another moleskin coat," he suggested, smiling.

Mrs. Smithkins went into hysterical weeping, whereupon Smithkins soothed her and collected all her bills and listened to her story. Then he showed her his old receipted bills and cancelled checks.

She was quite as smart at shopping as he, she was not eating any more or buying any more necessities, but she was buying luxuries not at all necessary. By the simple process of subtracting the cost of three dinners with caterer, the cost of the coat, the avalanche of lingerie that she had

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

purchased for herself and Mildred, the unusually heavy and unnecessary bills of Jack, and doubled number of theatre tickets and afternoon teas at the Blitz and other top-priced places, the extra number of new gowns, some jewelry and other things, it was found that her household expenses were no more than ever, and she would have had a margin of a couple of thousand dollars by this time, had she not made foolish expenditures.

"Try it, my dear," and Smithkins kissed her and picked up his hat and coat.

"But—but when I have the money it seems so easy to get things—don't go, stay."

"Can't. Strike on. I am unable to meet the demands and so turn over this household business to you."

"You must stay," insisted Mrs. Smitkhins. "It is cruel of you to live at the club like this."

"Can't see what use you and the children have for a stingy old tightwad around here——."

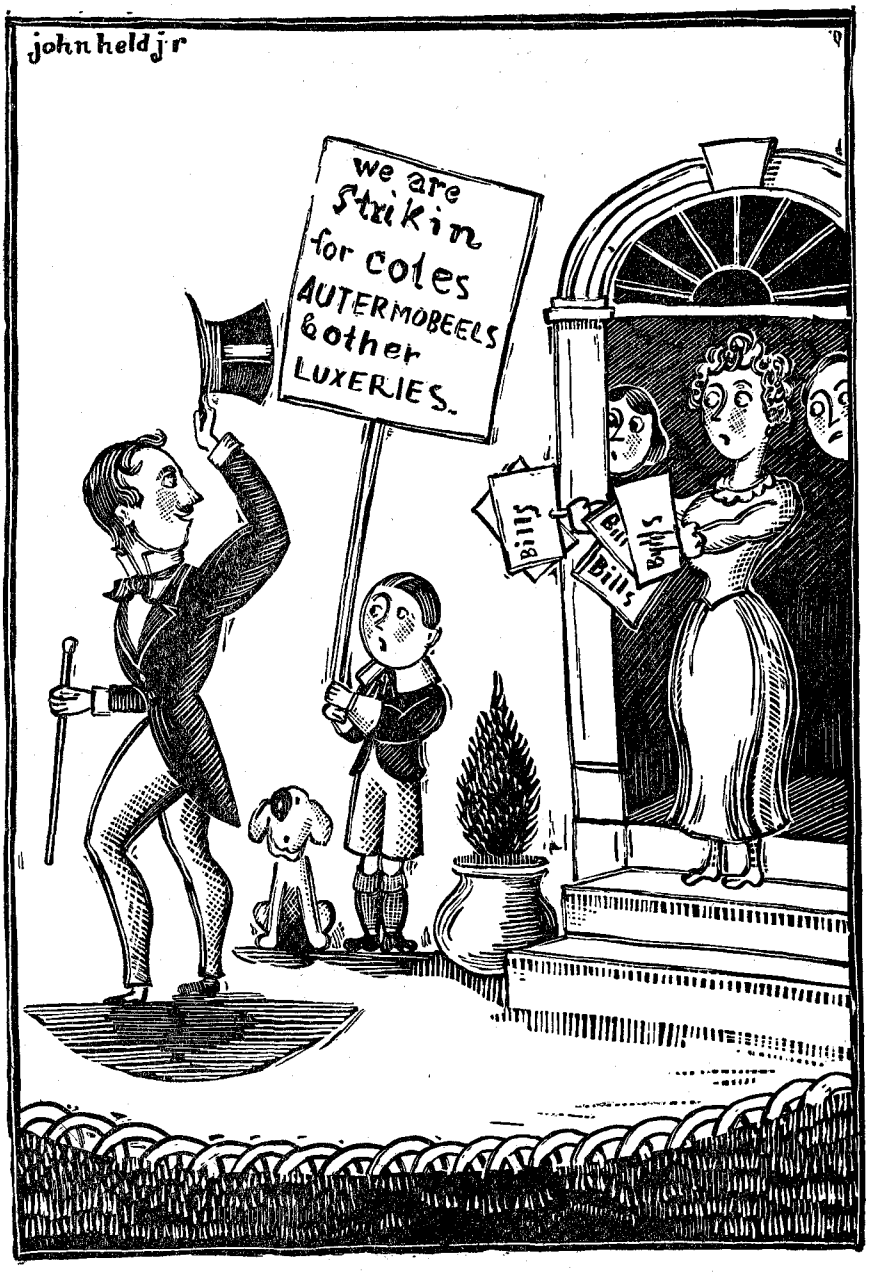
"I don't see how you managed," sobbed Mrs. Smithkins.

"I managed to live just within our means," he explained kindly.

Mrs. Smithkins snuggled into his arms. "Hang up your hat and coat, dear, the strike is off," she whispered.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Smithkins Turns Over the "Home Plant" to His Family—



And Lets Them Do the Worrying!

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUR BOLSHEVIK MENACE

REVOLUTION OPENLY FOMENTED AND PREACHED TO CREATE UNREST

By NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, LL.D.
(*President Columbia University*)

MOST of us remember the romance called "Frankenstein," written by Mrs. Shelley. In that romance there was created a symbol of a human being. *Frankenstein* had bone and muscle and sinew, and all the outward and visible form of humanity except life, and then at the proper time it was found that this creature was alive. But instead of being subject to those who had made it and under their control, it became a monster, their master, and a violent destructive agent.

That romance, "Frankenstein," may be taken to illustrate what has happened during these past hundred years in the building of a great government. We have been laying rails and felling trees and building bridges, inventing and constructing machinery, and doing a thousand and one things to develop and enhance the value of the material resources of the world, and finally we wake up to find that this great creation so stupendous in its extent, so fundamental in its importance, so widespread in its influence and its significance—that this creation is human and alive.

We are face to face with a problem of adapting ourselves to a comprehension in terms of human feeling, human aspiration, human conduct of this great system which we have been accustomed to dwell upon as purely mechanical and purely material. It is to be hoped that we shall solve these great questions in a spirit of human kindliness and of patriotic Americanism. But the condition of our so doing is that we understand precisely what the problem is, and that we do not conceal its difficulties from ourselves by any

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

veil of words, or by any attempt to compromise with the great fundamental principles of morals and of politics.

We find now that those who work with their hands, like those who work with their brains and those who work with their savings, are human beings; that they have wives and children and other dependents to support; that they have aspirations to study and to know and to enjoy the beautiful and good things of life. We find, too, that a feeling, largely artificially fomented, is abroad among them that there is something concealed, something hidden, something odd and curious about our political system that prevents their full enjoyment of their human opportunities and their human rights. The specific question which we have to answer in this country, and which we shall answer, is how to solve our industrial problems in terms of human feeling, human kindliness and human aspirations, without destroying everything which has made our Republic possible.

OUR PROBLEM A HUMAN PROBLEM

WE ARE on the way, just so soon as we have comprehended that we are dealing with a human problem; that we are not dealing with cogs upon the wheel of a machine; that we are not dealing with spokes in a wheel; that we are not dealing with numbered and tagged units; but that we are dealing with human beings. The moment we see our problem as a human problem, we are face to face with the opportunity of those of us—and how vast their number! —who are convinced believers in the Republic; those of us who know what is its message of liberty, of opportunity and of justice, the opportunity to tell that story to those whose eyes are blind and whose ears are deaf to the story of America.

The difficulties of democracy are the opportunities of education. The very purpose of these problems is that we may tax ourselves to our very best and finest and most splendid expression in order to solve them. We are confronted, not alone by the duty but by the splendid opportunity of telling again for the hundredth time the story of America, and telling to these human beings like ourselves

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who are anxious to know, anxious to improve, anxious to better their condition in the world, that only in and through and by America is there any chance for them whatever. We have got to say that the whole of human history shows that any other door leads to a blind alley of chaos and darkness; that the door of individual opportunity, which assures to every man the full control of the just product of his own labor, is the only known way of building a civilization that will last and that will progress.

One difficulty at the present time is that we have not yet wholly recognized how largely the problem that confronts us has been artificially created. Consider how many men there are who make their living by going up and down this country telling other groups of men that they ought to be discontented, that they ought to be unhappy, that they ought to be dissatisfied, and that they ought to make trouble for their fellows and their comrades! There are thousands upon thousands of such men, many of them speaking our language with difficulty, who are going up and down this land, day by day, adding to difficulties, embarrassing the Government of the Nation and of the States, stopping the wheels of industry, impeding production, increasing the cost of living, because they—these comparatively few agitators—are the heralds of a revolution.

A REVOLUTION OPENLY FOMENTED

WE ARE face to face, not with a secret revolution, but with a revolution openly fomented, openly preached, whose message is falling upon ears some of which are not sufficiently instructed in Americanism to treat it as it deserves. The following record of testimony before a public officer is instructive.

The examining public officer:

Q. What do you mean by social revolution?

A. Social revolution means the overthrow of the existing system.

Q. In what way?

A. That is immaterial, but it is not to be the methods of the ruling class, that is plain.

Q. What other way?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A. By organizing the revolutionary workers, making them class-conscious. It is like the depositors in a bank. So long as there is a feeling that the bank is stable, they will deposit their money, but so soon as a doubt comes in their minds, there is a mass movement, and a panic seems to enter them all at once and they all rush pell mell to draw out the money. The workers will be in the same position as the depositors in the bank toward the present government. They will feel that they have lost all faith in it through our propaganda, I admit, and through the gradual breakdown of the existing system. Wages will not rise to meet it and they will feel that they are always on the ragged edge. When that condition prevails, and we can instill into their minds doubt and distrust and lack of faith in the present capitalistic methods, even in the Plumb plan, to meet the tremendous reforms necessary—when that stage has been reached and breakdown of industry comes, the revolutionary organizations will spring into existence and will take over the control of your government from the capitalistic class. The reforms generated in Germany under Bismarck, they did not do any good. We have to show them that all social reformers are worthless and that the only thing they must do is to organize for communism.

That is testimony under oath before a public officer. Frank, unconcealed and highly valuable because it points to precisely the cause that need give us concern, namely the ability of the agitators to spread abroad distrust. If we can instill into the hearts of our fellow Americans, whatever their occupation, whatever their calling, whatever their racial origin, whatever their political bent or religious belief; if we can instill into them by our personal relations, by our industrial methods, by the administration of justice and by the contact of our governmental agents with them in the discharge of daily business faith, in America, you have the answer to the propaganda of distrust.

The question is between faith in America and carefully propagated distrust of American principles, American laws and American ideals.

MUST AMERICANIZE OUR ALIENS

WE FORGET in our easy-going optimism how many there are who have come to our shores to take places in our industrial life and to share in our political responsibility to whom our traditions are meaningless. We forget how many there are to whom the names of Washington and of Lincoln are as remote as the names of Nebuchadnezzar and of Nero. We forget how many have come to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

us under conditions of revolt and violent dissatisfaction with government at home and who have carried with them that distrust of government, all ready to furnish quickening soil for the seed of the agitator when he puts distrust of America in place of the old distrust of the autocrat or of the tyrant in the homeland they had left.

We forget how earnestly we must address ourselves to the task of making sure that these newcomers, from whatever land, do see the meaning of America, do get a chance to understand America, do learn the history and the opportunity of America. And we must do it quickly; because it has now been discovered by great masses of men that we are so closely intertwined in our lives, that we are so interdependent in our interests, that a very slight dislocation of the social and industrial order may bring untold ruin and loss in its train.

Out yonder on the track of a great railroad there will be standing tomorrow morning a great engine, complete in every part, carefully inspected, all ready to move, so soon as the skilled hand is put upon the throttle, and to carry the passengers with safety at a rate of sixty miles an hour. Let someone withdraw from that engine a pin, only partly the size of your finger, or let him disable a valve an inch or two in diameter, and that great engine is helpless. It stands before its task paralyzed and broken, as if it had been torn to pieces. Just so it is with our industrial and our economic life.

We have now come to a point where our great national civilization is so complex, so highly ordered and so completely interdependent, that this organized and simultaneous withdrawal of the co-operation of a relatively small group will bring the whole nation to a standstill. That means that we must find the arguments of persuasion that will make men understand their interdependence, make men understand their duty and their opportunity to their fellows as well as those of their fellows to them, and see that the solution of these difficulties and differences is to be found, not in the methods of industrial war and by violent attack

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

upon the nation or its government, but by the methods of American reasonableness, of conference, of debate, of examination and of judicial determination of rights, wrongs and possibilities.

The one is the American way; the other is the barbarous way. The one is the way of progress and construction; the other is the way of reaction and destruction. We must remember that this interdependence is yet only partially appreciated by the great body of our citizenship. It seems never to have occurred to a great number of Americans who are wage-earners that they are also wage-payers. Every one of them who wears a coat, every one of them who wears a pair of shoes, every one of them who has a shovel or a pick or an axe has helped to pay the wages of some other American whose labor has entered into the making of those articles.

We are all wage-earners, and we are all wage-payers, and our interdependence is so complete that unless we are prepared to understand it and to act upon it, it is within the power of any relatively small element of our great community to bring its life to a standstill. What we are combating is, then, a wrong idea and a wrong state of feeling and a wrong state of mind.

STILLING THE VOICE OF THE AGITATOR

WE CANNOT combat such things with force. Force is the proper instrument for repression and punishment of improper and illegal acts; but force cannot reach a wrong idea. The history of the world is that ideas flourish when attacked by force, be they good or bad. The only instrument that will combat a wrong idea, a wrong state of feeling, is a right idea, a right state of feeling. We have got to reach these propagandist doctrines on the plane in which they move. We have got to reach them by instruments that are like in kind, and we have got to prepare our selves and exert ourselves by reflection and by action to institute in this country so great, so overwhelming a propaganda for America that the voice of the agitator will be stilled in this

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

land. In no other way can we meet the situation that confronts us. It is, of course, quite impossible that civilization should go on if men withdraw their co-operation in industry in order to affect a political policy. That has recently been attempted in Great Britain, it has recently been threatened here; but all must see—and it is so plain that it must be easy to show it to everyone—that if men withdraw their personal co-operation in the productive work of civilization as a means of forcing a political policy, it is to point a pistol at the head of this Republic. It is to say to the Republic. "Stand and deliver, because I have in my power that which will make you uncomfortable, and will perhaps bring disaster to you and your families!"

No civilization can last on this basis. No government can be maintained with that absence of consent and co-operation. And, do not forget that it is perfectly possible to destroy civilization. Civilization has been destroyed before, and it has taken a thousand years to repair the damage done in a generation or two. Civilization might conceivably be destroyed again. It would be destroyed again if enough men were to become so filled with this selfish notion of their own interests and their own importance, and of a class struggle and a class consciousness, that they started to make war on all their fellows in order to advance that notion. It would be perfectly possible to wreck civilization, and none would suffer more when the pillars of the great temple should fall and its roof should cave in, none would suffer more than the very men who would have brought about that destruction.

It is not a question of majority. We are a hundred million, and there may be only fifty thousand of our nation's enemies; but put the fifty thousand in control of a strategic point in our economic and industrial life, and they are as powerful as fifty thousand armed men marching among the hundred million unarmed women and children. It is not a question of numbers. It is a question of the points in our social and economic organization where the influence can be brought to bear. But I repeat, I am not of those

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who believe that we shall fail to meet this situation, because whenever the American people have had an issue simply, definitely, and clearly put before them, they have never failed to decide it for America.

1920

By FAITH BALDWIN

Our eyes are clearer for past tears—
  Shall we not look ahead, and see
  The Dawn advance more gloriously
For that the Night was dark? The years
Gone by must take their toll of Now,
  In silent grief, in holy pride,
  The rightful due of those who died;
We shall remember them, and how
They bought our Peace. And we must pay
  In Progress for their gift; we must
  In Purpose justify their trust;
They died. We live; and face Today.
  It is the New, the Untried Year—
  Look up—Look out—the dawn is here!

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PULLING THE TEETH OF WAR

By REAR-ADMIRAL STRAUSS
(An interview with THE FORUM)

Picking up the deadly sea-bombs in the North Sea, placed there as a Barrage against the German submarines, was the task assigned to Rear-Admiral Strauss of the United States Navy. When Admiral Strauss planted this epoch-making barrier he achieved in naval war history a record that should have satisfied one man. Added to his glory was the hazardous task of locating and destroying his own handiwork.

The FORUM is privileged to present the first story of this marvelous achievement from his own lips.

WHILE news of the Armistice overjoyed me and others associated with the United States Mine Force abroad, the ending of the war neither lessened the difficulties nor decreased the dangers attaching to the mining of the North Sea.

When the Armistice came the Mine Force of the United States Navy, working in co-operation with the British Navy, had about completed the biggest single mining operation ever undertaken. Parallel lines of mines swung at varying undersea levels all the way from Norway to within ten miles of the Orkney Islands, northeastward of Scotland. The length of the mined area was approximately 230 miles, and its width over its greatest part was about twenty-five miles. In each line the distance between each individual mine was about 300 feet.

There had been planted approximately 70,000 mines, each potentially a tremendous engine of destruction. All but about 16,000 were manufactured in the United States, shipped across the Atlantic, and planted by our forces.

UNIV. CALIF.
LIBRARY

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

While the work of planning, originating and shipment began with our entrance into the war, the job of planting was accomplished within the last three or four months of the conflict.

You can understand the size of the task when I state that the number of mines used in establishing the Northern Barrage probably exceeded the number of mines that had been manufactured in all the world prior to the Great War. Considered in terms of mile-posts, the mines employed could have been used to mark each mile of about twenty-five highways extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans.

The mines, as I said, were down. The Armistice brought home to us the fact that they had to come up. While this necessary eventuality had not been ignored, naturally all prior thinking as well as effort had concentrated on establishing the barrage. The essential war-time consideration was the hemming in of German submarines by making their outlet to the Atlantic exceedingly dangerous. The peace-time consideration, which evolved with the Armistice, was to remove the obstacles and dangers the mines presented to general shipping.

The designing, manufacture and planting of mines that would perform the herculean war-time service desired from them, involved many difficult problems. They had been solved, successfully. Not a single vessel or man had been lost in the venture. In fact, the work of planting the mines had been reduced to virtual hum-drum.

But, how were they to be taken up?

COMBING MINE-INFESTED SEAS

THIS question had been asked repeatedly since the venture had been first proposed. We knew in a general way how they could be taken up—but in a general way only. We were positive, however, that the job of taking them up would be a harder and more dangerous one than was the job of putting them down.

So you will see how the Armistice shifted the work and

VIAGRA

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the problems of the Mine Force, and, in the sense of the precarious, changed them for the worse.

But as to the Force, as it then stood, it meant relief. For the job of mine-sweeping called for types of vessels and equipment different from those used in laying. Hence the layers and appurtenant equipment, with the officers and men who had manned them, were in the main sent home.

The Commander of the Force and his immediate staff alone of the old organization were carried over to the new work.

Our first idea was to employ vessels of shallow draft in our mine hunts over the mine-infested sea. The reason for this will be explained later.

Just before Christmas, 1918, it was decided to make an experiment. The British loaned us two fishing smacks for the trial. They of course were sailing vessels, and of construction and rigging peculiar to them.

Volunteers for taking the two boats out on an experimental trip through the mine fields were called for. The response was gratifying; but in all the Force there were few men or officers with sailing vessel experience and fewer still had sailed those kinds of boats. We found one officer who had experience on North Sea fishing smacks, so he and a crew of ten men were assigned to take out one of the boats. While wondering how to send out the other, my flag lieutenant, Noel Davis, said to me:

"I had been hoping, sir, that you would let me take out one of those boats."

"Do you want to go?" I asked.

"Certainly," he replied.

Though his experience on sailing vessels comprised only what he had had on Chesapeake Bay during his training at Annapolis, I consented for him to go, feeling sure that the selected vessels would be immune from mine explosions.

IN THE RAGING NORTH SEA

THE North Sea, however, in winter often partakes more of the lion's than the lamb's character. Hardly had

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the two little 70-foot fishing boats sailed from our base at Inverness before the sea was raging like a crazed beast.

My anxiety for the two crews was immense. We endeavored to reach them by wireless but without success. Warnings were radioed all around but no word from them or of them came. Four days, including Christmas day, passed without news from either vessel. I felt confident both vessels and crews had been lost either in the storm or from contact with one of the thousand of mines strewn through the waters over which they passed. Then on the morning of December 26th, Davis 'phoned me from Peterhead, a landing a hundred miles or so south of our base, saying that he and his men were safe. His voice, over the wire, was the sweetest sound, I believe, ever heard by me. He and his crew had gone through a terrific fight with the seas, but had won. Next day, a similar message of comfort and assurance came from the other boat, which had reached the Firth of Forth, not far from the city of Edinburgh. Both boats had successfully weathered the mines.

That experiment was the first of many dramatic experiences associated with sweeping up the mine fields, a task that was not finally completed until late in the fall of 1919.

The fishing boat experiment, fortunately, proved needless; for before the sweeping began American initiative found a way for neutralizing the most dangerous aspects of our mines.

The mines used by us in establishing the Northern Barrage represented a distinct innovation in the science of war mining. They were designed primarily as weapons to be used against the deadly submarine. Without such a mine the big project in which they were used might have been impracticable. However, they didn't precede the initiation of the North Sea mining project. The project indeed was visioned as a practical utility by the Bureau of Ordnance, United States Navy, even before war was declared. The practicability of the venture was decided favorably by our Naval experts almost concurrently with our entering the war. We felt that the many incidental problems involved in the venture could and would be solved in ample time.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

So it proved; but the solving of them comprised the making in a few months' time of researches and experiments that ordinarily would have required at least five years' time.

THE FAMOUS "MARK VI" MINE

AN outsider, Mr. Ralph C. Browne, a civilian inventor of Salem, Mass., suggested the basic principle of the Mark VI mine, as the implement we used was officially known. It belonged to a proposed "submarine gun." The gun, while possessing many original qualities, was held by the Bureau of Ordnance to be impracticable. The electrical firing principle attaching to the proposed gun was believed by the ordnance experts to be adaptable to mines. This firing apparatus when developed made it so that all that was needed to cause the explosion of a mine was for it or any part of its appurtenances to be merely touched by a piece of steel. This enabled us to greatly extend each mine's zone of effectiveness. This we did by attaching to each mine an antenna, roughly a wire, that extended from it to a fixed point below the surface of the water. To the upper end of the attenna there was attached a float. This made it possible for us to distribute through the mined area a series of apparatus that amounted, in a sense, to a network of sensitized wires and floats, the touching of any part of which would immediately set off the explosives to which the parts were attached.

In passing, let me say, as a Naval officer who has given much of his professional career to the study of ordnance, that it gives me much pleasure to call attention to the fact that the firing principle of the mine came from a proposal made by an "outsider." Unfortunately, there is a popular impression that professional naval and military men are prejudiced against suggestions from civilians. Every such suggestion is given careful and sympathetic attention. When they offer any hope of success every reasonable test is made to prove their availability.

A VALUABLE CIVILIAN SUGGESTION

WHILE of course the bulk of outside suggestions prove impracticable, it is pleasing to admit that some have

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been of great value either directly or by adaptation. We received many outside suggestions for perfecting the Northern Barrage. Many were exceedingly original and interesting. But the bulk of them were based on what might be termed "mill pond" conditions. The hundreds of inventors who sought to help to make the venture successful forgot that we had to deal with sea conditions so extraordinary that we had great difficulty convincing British naval experts that it was possible to put over the enterprise. In fact, they never became enthusiastic about it until the job was done; but they co-operated freely. In fact, after the laying of mines began, the plans division of the British Admiralty insisted that "until we have proved the efficacy of the American mine-field, we must look on it as a bluff."

However, from the beginning the proposal was backed and fully believed in by the high officials of our forces, from the President down.

Referring again to "outsiders" and getting back to the channel of this narrative, it is gratifying to note that an invention which lessened the dangers of taking up the mines came also substantially from a non-professional source.

Weather conditions made it impracticable to undertake the sweeping of the fields during the winter following the Armistice. Meantime, Lieutenant Nicholls, a Westerner who had entered the service for the period of the war, found how steel vessels might be neutralized against the contact principle of the mines. This is one of the few secrets still having to do with the enterprise; hence the device cannot be described.

It made it possible for the Navy to go ahead and equip vessels well adapted to the work which had been done. The layers, which in the main were coastwise merchant-ships adapted to mine-laying use, were in no wise suited to sweeping. In fact, for the latter operations a practically new fleet had to be organized.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUR MINE-SWEEPER FLEET SAILS

THIS fleet, comprising eighty-two vessels made up of sweepers, sub-chasers and other attendant ships, sailed from our shores early in the spring of 1919. They operated from the Kirkwall harbor in the Orkney Islands. The sweepers quite aptly bore the names of birds, such as *Oriole, Robin, Turkey* and *Woodcock.*

The British Navy treats mine-sweeping as, in every sense, a war operation, and one so extraordinary that it allows only volunteers, who get extra pay, to engage in the work. This method was wholly unnecessary in our case. All men and officers were ready and anxious to accept mine-sweeping assignments, and though those assignments were carried out when there was no hurrah of war to give stimulus, the task was performed with the same enthusiasm, courage and attention to duty that characterized the work of laying the mines.

Before the war ended, it was agreed that each of the Allied Navies should remove the particular mines it had planted; and this arrangement was adhered to.

Our sweeping operations, like those of laying, extended from the coast of Norway to the Orkney Islands, and covered a period of time similar in character and length. The sweeping was not completed until about October 1, 1919.

The last process was much more spectacular than the first. Though our steel-hulled sweepers, neutralized, could scamper over the mine fields, with reasonable safety, the actual sweeping operations involved many hazards.

No effort was made to recover the mines or any part of their apparatus. Long sweeping cables attached to two vessels, moving in parallel lines at a distance of from 500 to 700 yards from each other, were dragged through the water. They were so devised that ordinarily they would cut the antenna wires leading upward from the mines or the anchor cable extending downward. This usually would explode the mine, at ordinarily safe distances from the vessels. But there were two operating dangers. One was countermining, that is mines near or under the vessels

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

being exploded unintentionally by the concussion from a mine in contact with the drags. Another was the fouling of mines with the drags or the heavy kites from which they hung. The kites, made of steel, and based on the principle of the kite that flies in the air, were employed to keep the drags at a fixed depth below the surface. The pull of the water behind moving vessels drew and held the kites downward just as the pull of the wind holds an air kite upward. The same principle is employed by fishermen in trolling.

CASUALTIES CHARACTERIZED BY HEROISM

THERE were several accidents, a few that were very sad, involving lost of life, and all of which were characterized by fine heroism.

One trawler, the *Richard Bulkeley*, was sunk by an undersea explosion, resulting in the loss of Commander King and six members of his crew.

Lieutenant Bruce lost his life when the stern of the *Bobolink* was blown off by a mine that fouled in the kite of a drag and, after being drawn up, exploded almost beneath the vessel. The officer had rushed to the stern of the ship when the mine appeared and, noting the danger, ordered his men forward just before the explosion which took his life.

The *Curlew* was also badly damaged by the concussion of a mine explosion.

The *Pelican* was saved when a mine exploded underneath her and tore out a side. Quick orders from the division commander, Captain Bulmer, and heroic work on the part of the boat's officers and men and those of other vessels that went to her relief, enabled them to carry her safely to port. Bulmer later was killed in an automobile accident. A destroyer has been named for him in recognition of his work in the mine field.

There were numerous incidental accidents to vessels and to members of the crews.

On one occasion the concussion from a mine that exploded some distance from them blew two men from the deck of a trawler. The concussion was so great that the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

life-saving coat, which the men were required to wear at all times during sweeping operations, was blown off one of them and he was lost. The other was saved.

About forty per cent of the mines that were planted were affirmatively disposed of in the sweeping operations. All others had already exploded, broken from their moorings, or otherwise destroyed or rendered impotent.

The firing apparatus of some had deteriorated, thus rendering them virtually harmless.

The sweeping experience gave added evidence of the validity of the undertaking, one of the biggest and most original of the entire war.

PURPOSE OF THE UNDER-SEA BARRAGE

THE purpose of the Barrage was to bar German submarines from the Atlantic Ocean. It was not expected to be one hundred per cent effective; our aim was to make it so effective that when added to other hazards of submarine operations, the resultant cost would not be worth the risk. This, I believe, was the result, or would have been had the war continued, as many thought it would for a year longer.

The Barrage made itself known to the enemy long before it was half-way established. Early in July, only a month or two after mine-laying in the area began, a submarine was caught by it. Though the Barrage was never absolutely completed, and announcement of its existence was published to the world, we know that as many as eight submarines were caught, and two others were badly damaged. Our sweeps located several of the fallen subs.

After the war a German naval officer said that the mine fields across the North Sea constituted the threat most feared by submarines. Prior thereto, the subs had treated Allied mines more or less frivolously.

Great secrecy regarding the character of the mines was maintained until operations began. In the preliminary planning, written memoranda and correspondence were omitted whenever possible. In manufacturing mine parts, those doing the work rarely knew what they were making

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was intended for. Parts were shipped separately to our Bases, at Inverness and Invergorden on the Scotch coast, and there assembled into the complete mine.

During the shipments, one of our carriers was torpedoed off the Irish Coast. While the disaster as a whole was regrettable, the phase of it that worried us most was the falling overboard of several boxes filled with parts of the firing apparatus. We knew those boxes would float, and were afraid that one would be picked up by a German submarine and from its contents our secret divined. Immediately after the disaster the waters were searched for the floating boxes.

Soon after we began laying the mines, some we know of broke loose and were washed by the sea onto the coast of Norway. While we endeavored to check that avenue of probable disclosure, we felt that the Germans early in the operations had opportunity to learn the make-up of the mines we were using. We know also that they found no way for neutralizing their most dangerous features, as we did as soon as the necessity for such evolution confronted us.

The lines of mines were so numerous and the layers, as a rule so thick, that a submarine passing through the barrage on the surface or submerged above a depth of fifty feet would have had but one chance in three of surviving. If submerged between depths of fifty and 250 feet, it would have had two chances out of three.

The danger varied because the lines of mines were laid in varying thicknesses at depths ranging from forty-five to 240 feet. The floats, at the end of the antennae, were about ten feet below the surface.

The mines were placed at varying depths, not so much to insure explosions by contact but to bring the explosion as near as possible to the submarine. The maximum depth of 240 feet was established because the character of the waters made that the maximum to which a submarine would submerge.

A BIG DAY'S SWEEPING

THE mines were so constructed and arranged that the depth at which the mine and the float would swing

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could be fixed before the apparatus was dropped into the water, regardless of how deep the water might be. This enabled the layers to plant mines while running at full speed. Often the full record for the Force went beyond 5,000 mines a day. Like, but not such great, fast work was done in sweeping. The record of mines destroyed in one day was 1373. This, of course, meant covering a much bigger field than the comparative figures would indicate. The sweeping work was often interfered with by bad weather, but when the weather was good the long summer days of the North were used to the maximum. Sweeping operations often covered more than seventeen hours of the twenty-four in a day.

Owing to the ending of the war almost concurrently with the approximate completion of the Northern Barrage it is impossible to more than generalize about the efficacy of the undertaking. Naval experts generally agree that it bore out the expectations of its strongest advocates. So well was it regarded that, when the Armistice came, we had already made extensive arrangements for setting up similar barriers in the Mediterranean. For many German and Austrian submarines operated from bases on the Adriatic, the Aegean Sea and the Bosphorus.

Cutting them off from access to the sea involved several problems that had not entered into the establishing of the Northern Barrage. But they were well on the way to solution.

FUTURE OF THE SUBMERGED MINE

THE general effect of the Northern Barrage in future on the science of war is also difficult to forecast. It undoubtedly greatly projected the mine as a weapon of offense and defense, very much as the submarine had been projected. There is this difference: The submerged mine had long been an important implement of war. It was used in the Crimean war, in our Civil and Spanish wars, and to a large extent already in the World War. Soon after our entering the late conflict, German submarines planted fifty-five mines off our coast, and one man-of-war

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was destroyed by them. They were fished up by the Navy before greater damage could be done.

However, no such possibilities for the mine as an anti-submarine weapon had been seriously considered until we entered the war and proposed it. This was not because the mine was considered *per se* incapable of downing the submarine but because the vastness of their use thus required, made experts believe them to be impracticable except on a limited scale. When we entered the conflict, England was producing only 6,000 mines a week, and believed the maximum of production was below 10,000 a week. The Allies were using them in the main only for harbor protection and for operations within narrow areas like the Straits of Dover.

Long range guns have in a measure minimized mines as utilities for defending harbors. At the same time the capacity of that implement for countering general naval operations, and particularly the submarine, has been demonstrated.

This latter contribution to the science of war, I believe, belongs in most part to the United States Navy, which developed and demonstrated it in connection with the Northern Barrage.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A HUMAN BEAVER OF SHIPBUILDING

AS REVEALED IN THE EFFICIENCY OF JOSEPH W. POWELL, ALADDIN OF SHIPS

By EDWIN WILDMAN

THERE is a human species that belongs, by some mysterious inheritance of nature, to the beaver, an industrious animal with a constructive talent and a practical foresight that has given it our respect. The beaver works most of the time and rapidly. By professional ability, the beaver does a man's-sized job.

The human-beaver developed in this country during the War. He was everywhere in the great war industries that sprang up in 1917. There were thousands upon thousands of them in the spectacular infernos of smoke and fire, of steel and iron, eagerly speeding up the ideals of the nation. It became an American habit to be a human-beaver, all others were slackers. That time has passed, however, and because there is no such intensity, or because the purpose of industry has been demobilized of its highest tension, there is restlessness among some human-beavers. They need constructive leadership. They are looking for new leaders. All of which means that the new leaders themselves must be recruited from the beaver class.

Where are they?

The Schwabs, the Hurleys, the Hoovers, the Davisons, and all the rest of the great leaders, have got so far away from the rank and file that they have become human classics of industrial affairs. Where are the new men who, being nearer to the immediate problems, can become industrial leaders for the new generation? Where are the men who can carry on in the great industry of building the nation up?

The shipbuilder appears to have the greatest responsi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bility ahead, the responsibility of constructing the trade-carriers of the world. Among these, in the shipbuilding industry, is Joseph Wright Powell, who is at the wheel in the biggest ship corporation in the country.

We have been used to looking at corporations as our only industrial guides, let us look at the men behind them. Let us take the exact words of Powell, the shipbuilder:

"For twenty-four years, since the beginning of my technical training, this subject of shipbuilding has held a romantic interest for me."

SHIPBUILDERS A UNIQUE TYPE

WHEN he confessed that shipbuilding had been a "romantic interest" for him, he personified the type of man the shipbuilder is. As a class, the shipbuilders are a unique type of men. They are not desk men, they are not visionary promoters of speculation, they are not short-hour types. The shipbuilder is a man whose romance is in the love of his work. He builds a moving, living, conquering thing that contributes to the safety, adventure and conquest of life itself. He peoples the sea, binding the earth with a cordon of ships. Out of the technical secrets of his constructive knowledge he properly feels that he has created, of steel and wood, a thing that appears to have human force.

During the war the shipbuilding instinct for romance was intensified by the ideals of the war, but now comes the greatest of all incentives for him—to restore the romance and conquest on the seas of American ships which existed from 1820-30, when not less than 92 per cent of the import and export business of the United States was carried on in American vessels. The chief purpose of the American shipbuilder today is to create one vast organization of this industry, toward this end, toward the establishment of a huge merchant-marine service. This is the general impulse of all American shipbuilding at present.

In the small list of unknown shipbuilders of today, that is to say, unknown to the public eye, Mr. Powell is among the foremost of the new leaders. He has risen to the head of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the largest shipbuilding corporation in America, is among the young blood of the country (he is only forty years old), and he has risen because the romance of shipbuilding is the most vital adventure of American industry. Powell's name is not among the most celebrated national figures one reads about in the affairs of yesterday, but, at the age of twenty, he had created a name for daring among the young heroes of the Spanish War.

He has always lived with the roar of the sea in his ears, with the smell of ships in his nostrils. Even in a technical study of ship construction, he has always claimed to have a "romantic interest." Perhaps he means by this the elements of adventure that pervade the job, for this he appears to seek the most. His career began in that way. It was his love of adventure that fascinated him when, as a boy, he listened to the stories of the naval exploits of the Civil War his father and an old friend talked over together. They were stories filled with the color and heroism of the days when Farragut led a charmed life in his indifference to danger when he stood on the deck exposed to the fire of the masked batteries on the shores of the Mississippi. Absorbing these tales of sea warfare in the days when the Navy was in its infancy, he became obsessed with the notion of being a naval officer himself. Nothing in his immediate environment inspired this. His father was a country lawyer, his home in Oswego, N. Y., on the quiet shores of Lake Ontario. His ancestry belonged to pastoral occupations, principally farming.

POWELL'S FIRST "GREAT ADVENTURE"

A ROMANTIC interest in the sea and ships, in the finer technical adventures of building them, seized him when he was a small boy. He took command of his own life in much the same way that he stood on the bridge of the *Merrimac* as it approached the mouth of Santiago Harbor, in the way he has taken command, since, of building ships. His parents, perceiving the determination of the course he had laid out for himself, sent him to Annapolis. After his graduation he served as a Naval cadet for four

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

years, finally on the *New York* during her sea service in the Spanish War. It was this war which gave Cadet Powell his first impulse in leadership, the first great adventure of his life, the test of his career. "Romantic interest" was not lacking in the task before him. In the selection from junior officers which was made of men who should assist Hobson in the sinking of the *Merrimac* to bottle up the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Santiago, the decision finally simmered down to two youngsters, Naval Cadets L. C. Palmer and Joseph Wright Powell, of the *New York*. All were eager for the dangerous chance of distinguished service. The element of luck enters into everything. Commander Potter solved the crisis. He told Palmer and Powell that whichever one guessed the number of cigarettes in his case correctly would be ordered taken in the *Merrimac*, in its daring adventure. Powell guessed odd, Palmer even. There were three cigarettes in the case when it was opened. Powell won. His own story of this service was told in his own words at the time:

"About 2:30 P. M., I took the men, who were not going into the narrow mouth of the harbor, in the launch from the *Merrimac* and started for the *Texas*. I had to go back for Assistant-Engineer Crank, who had refused to leave the *Merrimac* to the last. I shook hands with Hobson the last of all. He said: 'Powell, watch the boat's crew when we pull out of the harbor. We will be cracks, rowing thirty strokes to the minute.'

"After leaving the *Texas* again, I saw the *Merrimac* steaming slowly in. It was only fairly dark then and the shore was quite visible. We followed the *Merrimac* in, about three-quarters of a mile astern. When Hob on was about two hundred yards from the harbor, the first Spanish gun was fired from the eastern bluff. We were then half a mile off shore in our launch, close under the Spanish batteries. The firing increased rapidly. We steamed in slowly, but lost sight of the *Merrimac* in the smoke. We ran in still closer to the shore so that the gunners on the heights lost sight of us. Then we heard the explosion of a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

torpedo on the *Merrimac*, but could not see her. Until daylight we waited outside the breakers half a mile to the westward of Morro. About 5:00 A. M. we crossed the mouth of the harbor again. In passing we saw one spar of the *Merrimac* sticking out of the water. We continued to hug the shore just outside of the breakers, and then turned out to sea towards the *Texas*, when the batteries saw us and opened fire upon us. It was then broad daylight. The first shot fired dropped thirty yards astern, but the other shots went wild. I drove the launch for all she was worth, finally making the *New York* in safety. The men behaved splendidly."

HEROISM AND EFFICIENCY REWARDED

THE story is simple enough, but it is far more impressive in the impression it leaves of Powell's first executive duty as a naval cadet. For this service, Congress promoted him to the rank of ensign, and his government sent him to study marine-engineering in Glasgow, where he remained three years. Luck was with him, no doubt, but he walked shoulder to shoulder with luck no matter how rapid the gait. He found in the course of this study a new romantic interest in the technical adventures of his work.

On his return to America, he was appointed one of the Naval Inspectors to Cramps Shipyards, Philadelphia, in his eight years supervising the constructing of the new *Maine*, the building of the *Texas*, *Colorado*, *Pennsylvania*, *Tennessee*, *Memphis* and *Idaho*. Subsequently he was engaged as assistant to the president of the corporation. Once established in this executive position, he demonstrated an efficiency in shipbuilding that attracted the attention of everyone who came in contact with him. When Charles M. Schwab was looking for a leader to direct the affairs of the Fore River Co., the President of Cramps Shipyards recommended young Powell to his attention, and he was promptly engaged as President of the Fore River Shipbuilding Co., and later made Operating Head of all the shipbuilding interests of the Bethlehem Steel Co., when

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they were amalgamated under the name of the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation, Ltd.

Briefly, these are the steps by which Powell, modestly and without any inclination for public attention, advanced to a position he now holds in the shipbuilding industry. which puts him in the front rank of the shipbuilders of America.

The daring of his earliest youthful adventure on the *Merrimac* expedition took a new form when the war broke out between the United States and Germany, in 1917. When the Government scanned the shipbuilding industry of the nation to ascertain with what speed and efficiency the United States Navy could increase its equipment, Mr. Powell, among other shipbuilders, was called to Washington to make a report of what he could do with his own plant. His record in the Navy and his recognition by Congress were regarded as advantages that were in reality but a small part of his success in concluding a contract with the Government which was the largest of all. The story of this contract reveals Powell's far-seeing eagerness for a new adventure in shipbuilding.

HE SOLVES THE PROBLEM OF DESTROYERS

THE burning question was how many and how fast destroyers could be turned out. The first report to Secretary Daniels was discouraging. The shipbuilders said that they could turn out about forty destroyers, each shipyard promising four or five. The Secretary told them to go back, to examine their industries and to show better prospects. In two weeks they returned. Mr. Powell was late in reaching the conference and did not hear the first part of the talk. He waited until every shipyard had made its report. Altogether, they found that they might be able to build sixty or seventy destroyers, such being the entire possible output of the shipyards of the country.

Mr. Powell stated to the Secretary that he had probably looked at the matter from an entirely different point of view from the rest of the shipyards, and surprised everyone by saying that he was prepared to make a contract to build

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

150 destroyers. In the preceding two weeks, Mr. Powell's organization had made tentative plans for the construction of a machine shop employing about 2,500 men, for a boiler shop employing 1,500 men, and a complete new destroyer plant employing about 10,000 men, together with increased facilities. The vision of this young shipbuilder led to his being given a contract by the Government which totalled $130,000,000—the largest contract in naval history—involving the building of seventy-one ships, together with the construction of three new plants. The rest of the boats were built by the Union Iron Works, now known as the Union Plant, a plant of the same organization in San Francisco.

The story of this big contract is a romantic achievement in industry. Within twenty-four hours from the moment the verbal order was passed to Mr. Powell by Secretary Daniels, ground was broken on the mud flats of Squantum, Massachusetts, adjoining the Fore River Yards, and within two weeks the completed building for the offices was finished. On July 18, 1918, the first destroyer was slipped off the ways, considerably less than a year after the Plant was started, and the first boat delivered to the Government on November 30, 1918. On November 6, 1919, the fifty-ninth, the *Reid*, which was built fully equipped and ready for service in forty-five and a half working days—a world record in shipbuilding—was accepted.

But to return to the assignment by the Secretary of the Navy, of 71 destroyers, while all the other shipbuilders were instructed to figure on 25 destroyers each. It was shortly after this request by the Government that the company which Mr. Powell represented decided to amalgamate its shipbuilding interests under a single management, so as to make the deliveries of ships to the Government more expeditious, to accomplish "quantity production." After Congress had appropriated the funds necessary for the construction of 150 additional destroyers, 71 were assigned to Mr. Powell's organization, and sixty-six to the Union Iron Works. The basis for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the payment by the Government for these destroyers was a fee of $125,000 for each vessel with one-half of the saving under a basic price of $1,500,000, which basic price was to be increased by any amount that wages might increase during construction.

The type of destroyer to be constructed was a modification ofthe 35-knot type then building. All this involved plans for ordering vast materials for the construction of new plants under the direction of Mr. Powell, for rebuilding, for installing and gathering new machinery to carry out the big contract. It was a period of great difficulty both as to recruiting of labor and to transportation of material. The contract for these ships was signed by the Government on December 6, 1917, when the shipyards were short of labor. The impulse which was given to the industry under the direction of Mr. Powell by this contract has, of course, greatly increased the entire scope of the shipyards. A force of over 30,000 men employed in building ships are now under his control.

HARDWORKING AND DEMOCRATIC

TODAY the head of the great shipbuilding industry punches the time-clock at 8:00 A. M. with the rest of the office employees of his organization. He relies upon his own judgment of the men directly under him, not merely deciding upon their record, but on their character, honesty and industry. He does not interfere with the selection of assistants or employees by his managers. His romantic interest in shipbuilding is as keen as it was when he felt the impulse to build ships as a child. He is considered a leading expert in modern ship construction, and has turned out huge battleships, destroyers and merchant vessels with equal efficiency. It is not stretching one's imagination to say that Mr. Powell is foremost among the new leaders in the shipbuilding industry, a new and commanding figure in these days when 100 per cent efficiency men are needed.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GERMANY NOW

MONARCHIAL AMBITIONS—SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

By ALFRED G. ANDERSON
(*Resident American Correspondent in Berlin*)

"THE revolution was not unmixed felicity."

These words, uttered by Gustav Noske, Germany's minister of defense, when I paid him a visit shortly before leaving Berlin for America, succinctly sum up the feeling in Germany today, after a year's disappointing experience of republican government under Socialist domination. Also, they explain the torrent of reaction that has been sweeping everything before it in Germany during the last few weeks, and which is now battering down the last pillar of the republican structure—the confidence of the working masses in their leaders—to make way for a new monarchy before the calendar reaches the second anniversary of the revolution.

The next general elections, which probably will be held in January or February, 1920, are expected to register the country's disapproval of the Socialist regime by returning an overwhelming anti-Socialist majority in the Reichstag, and that will be the prelude to the restoration of the monarchy. Reduced to a minority the Socialists will not be able to resist the will of 75 per cent of the German people who are either active monarchists or passively approve of their designs.

It is significant that Herr Noske should make the admission that the revolution was not "unmixed felicity." Herr Noske—himself a revolutionary leader, a life-long Socialist, a former laboring man who for many years earned his bread and butter in the humble capacity of woodworker, and, what is more, the very mainstay of the republican government because he controls the army that has kept the government where it is—might be expected to endorse the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

new order of things. That he acts contrary to expectation is only additional proof of his stand politically. Herr Noske is no longer a Socialist. He has turned monarchist.

GERMANY VEERING TOWARDS MONARCHISM

IT IS human to be ambitious, and even vain. For a year generals and colonels have been doing the bidding of Noske. Incidentally, they also have been whispering a few things into his ear. For months Noske has realized which way the wind was blowing. For months he has known that the monarchy would come back sooner or later. Was he, the humble woodworker who had risen to power and glory, then to sacrifice all he had achieved? It was a bitter thought. And the monarchist leaders read his thoughts, through the penetrating insight of the high officers serving as "advisors" on his staff. The monarchists made a proposal to Noske. "Hand your army over to us when we give you the signal, and we will retain you as minister of war in the new imperial government," they said. And Herr Noske accepted.

If this is untrue, then the very monarchist leaders who claim to have effected the bargain with Noske have lied to me. But observing Noske's general conduct and his own statement to me there is every reason to believe that they told the truth. Observe, also, the army commissions distributed over Noske's signature to former princes of royal blood. Among royal persons given officers' commissions by Noske and now in active service are Adolf Friedrich, former reigning duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin; Prince Eugene and Prince Max of Schaumburg-Lippe, and the Princes Karl Gero and Wilhelm Albert of Urach.

"Princes and dukes are the protectors of our young republic," recently lamented the Berlin *Freiheit*, official organ of the Independent Socialist party.

The monarchists are not fearing any reluctance on the part of the army in responding to Noske's call to sweep the Socialists out of power. A little chat with any German soldier will satisfy any inquirer that such fear would be entirely unwarranted. The German army will set the limit

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only at William II. and the former Crown Prince. For to the German soldier the ex-Kaiser and his son are contemptible cowards who are not worthy of the imperial purple, and this opinion is pretty generally shared by the entire monarchist element. Their candidacy is hopeless.

When the German monarchy is restored, Prince Wilhelm Friedrich, oldest son of the former Crown Prince, will be the incumbent of the imperial throne. This is a point on which general agreement has been reached by those who are engineering the preparations for the *coup d'etat.* But Prince Wilhelm Friedrich is only thirteen, hence it is planned to install his mother, the Crown Princess Cecilie, as regent until he becomes of age. Both are now living in Potsdam.

HINDENBURG THE GERMAN WARWICK

PRINCE Wilhelm Friedrich probably will receive the reins of government from the hands of Field Marshal General von Hindenburg who is slated by the combined reactionary parties to run for president in the next general elections. He is not likely to decline the candidacy, knowing beforehand the mission that is being cut out for him. Shortly after his retirement to civilian life, Hindenburg officially joined the Nationalist party. This incident is extremely significant. It virtually confirms his acceptance of the candidacy. And his election is as sure as the defeat of the Socialists. Hindenburg today occupies the position in Germany that the late Theodore Roosevelt did in America after the Cuban campaign—the nation's idol.

The Socialists will enter the elections without a platform. At least, it is hard to see what sort of a platform they could offer. They have failed miserably in accomplishing any of the things they started out to do when they seized the government. They have not even a record to stand on.

"The Socialists promised Germany a 'Garden of Eden' but gave us a 'Paradise Lost,'" was the apt comment of Dr. Karl Helfferich, former imperial vice-chancellor under von Bethmann-Hollweg, when I asked him to make a forecast of the next election returns. "They stand utterly discredited. They have not succeeded in embedding one

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of their cardinal tenets in the new constitution. Public ownership of industrial enterprise, the separation of religion from public schools, the abolition of capital punishment, the abolition of titles of nobility and many more of their proposals were voted down in the National Assembly by the very parties that are associated with them in the coalition government."

A perusal of Germany's new constitution, in fact, gives the impression that it was made to serve the purposes of a constitutional monarchy. Substitute "emperor by the grace of God" for "president elected by popular vote," and Germany's fundamental law is sufficiently amended for the restoration of kaiserdom.

In the elections for the National Assembly, a year ago, Germany registered 30,000,000 votes. Of these the two Socialist parties polled 14,000,000, leaving a balance of 16,000,000 for all other parties, including the Democrats and Centrists, who are represented in the coalition cabinet. At that election the women of Germany voted for the first time, and the Socialists took good care that all women members of their families went to the polls. But it is a peculiar fact that few women of the bourgeois took advantage of their franchise privilege. The reason is to be found partly in apathy, but more particularly in the old-fashioned German idea that "woman's place is in the house." But German husbands, fathers, brothers and sweethearts of monarchist convictions will take pains to correct this mistake the next time. Their votes should thus be doubled, and to these will be added the ballots of thousands of dissatisfied Socialists who have joined other political parties since the revolution. Also those of a million returned prisoners of war who have no love for the "new Germany."

Probably 35,000,000 votes will be cast in the next German elections. The Socialists will be lucky if they receive 12,000,000. That would leave them outnumbered almost two to one. They will be strong enough to command representation in the next cabinet, no doubt; but they will be too weak to dominate it. That role will go to the Democrats or Centrists. It makes little difference which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one of the two gains the ascendancy, for both are strongly monarchistic, so the end will not be altered. And the reactionaries can no longer be kept out.

A COUP D'ETAT WILL BE EASY

"DESPAIR will lead to monarchism," the late Dr. Friedrich Naumann, then leader of the German Democrats, confided to me some time before his death. And if there ever was a man in Germany who knew what he was talking about, it was Friedrich Naumann. It is interesting to observe that the leading men in the Democratic party include Count von Bernstorff, Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, Baron Hartmann von Richthofen and Dr. Richard Dernburg, all loyal servants of the old monarchy. And the biggest man in the Centrist party is Matthias Erzberger, whose endorsement of the pan-Germans' annexationist designs during the first half of the war is universally known.

Throw these men into a new coalition cabinet together with a few pronounced reactionaries like Dr. Helfferich and Dr. Gustav Stresemann, and watch the result, especially with Iindenburg as president. The *coup d'etat* will be ridiculously easy and no blood should flow in the operation. There may be some opposition by the radicals, even armed opposition, but it will not be strong enough to seriously interfere with the monarchists. The German Spartacides and Communists have lost their grip on the country. Their cause went down to defeat with the failures of Munich and Budapest. Observe that there has not been a political strike in Germany in months. They may possess limited stores of arms and ammunition. But they should not forget that Noske will be on hand to deal with them as he did last March and at every subsequent radical eruption. Noske has spilled enough radical blood to teach them a lesson.

Few German monarchists desire a complete reversion to the old form of government. Their leaders realize that the German people are in no mood to surrender the political liberties (such as universal suffrage) gained by the revolution. The new kaiserdom will be a replica of the British constitutional monarchy. This is the aim of leaders like

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dr. Stresemann and Count Arthur Posadowsky-Wehner, according to their own statements to me. Their main domestic policy will be the admission of German Austria into the restored empire. Their foreign policy will be initiated with strong representations to the Entente to restore Germany's colonies and her pre-war boundary lines. These policies at least will give them popularity at home.

It is fortunate for the monarchists that the republican administration has not held a general house cleaning in the various government departments. The old machinery has been left practically intact. If one made a round of the offices of Wilhelmstrasse in search of Socialist officials and employees the investigation would be barren of results. I have had dealings with every ministry in Berlin, and I do not recall encountering a single government official or employee who was not a confessed monarchist, left over from the old regime. The Socialist cabinet ministers themselves are, of course, exceptions. And during the Scheidemann regime it was commonly said in Germany that Herr Scheidemann's greatest regret was that the Kaiser had abdicated, otherwise he (Scheidemann) would have been entitled to be addressed "your excellency." The fact is that Herr Scheidemann very frequently *was* addressed as "excellency" (for instance by foreign newspaper correspondents, including myself), and I have never heard him object to the title.

GERMANY FACING ECONOMIC PARALYSIS

THE restored monarchy—provided of course, that the *coup d'etat* succeeds—will have some complicated and difficult internal problems to solve, and it is a question if the royalists can do better than the Socialists in re-establishing sound economic working conditions. They think they can, basing their arguments on the fact that they have the majority, and on the promise to restore a firm government in which the world will have confidence. They take it for granted that the Entente would welcome the change.

Industrially and commercially, Germany, handicapped by lack of raw materials and by a coal famine, is approaching stagnation. Unless relief is rendered soon from outside

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

she will be paralyzed economically and become a serious liability on the world's balance sheet. It would be a simple matter if we could merely wipe the liability off our books and be done with the problem. But we can't. There is too much merchandise we need *from* Germany and too big a market for foreign goods *in* Germany to enable us to dispense with her so summarily. So we must help her, not for her own sake but for ours.

She will have to pull through the coal crisis the best she knows how. We are in no position to aid her, with our own house afire. France could help by lending her back some of the rolling stock turned over under the Armistice agreement. For, unlike America, Germany is not suffering from coal shortage for lack of present production. Her coal miners, who, like our own, struck for a six-hour day several months ago and compromised on seven, have gone back to work and are producing enough to fill all requirements. But Germany needs railroad cars to haul the coal.

The coal shortage is manifesting its presence by unheated flats, gas for cooking only three hours a day (divided into three periods of one hour each), railroad service cut to one-third and hot water in apartments limited to twice a month. These are the lighter manifestations of Germany's coal crisis, if one may be justified in using that phrase.

The more serious phase of the situation is curtailed industry. At least one-half of Germany's factories are idle, and the rest are working half-time or less. Many factories are running only 5 to 10 per cent of normal capacity. This at a time when the demand for German goods is nothing less than phenomenal, owing largely to the depreciation of the German mark which enables foreign buyers to purchase at extremely low prices. Merchants in Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden are earning 500 to 600 per cent profit on German merchandise, thanks to the demoralized state of the exchange. British and French merchants, not so scrupulous as Americans in observing the dictates of patriotism when there is an opportunity to do legitimate business with the late enemy, are doing fully as

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

well as their neutral competitors in the German trade. Long before the peace treaty was signed Germany was honeycombed by British and French merchants who sold raw materials and bought all the manufactured goods they could get. It is reported from many sources, in and out of Germany, that the British sold huge quantities of raw materials of American origin, purchasing them in the United States on long-term credits and selling them to the Germans on a similar basis; in other words, doing a rushing business on American capital and clearing a middleman's profit to which they were fully entitled but which might have been earned by Americans.

NEED OF RAW MATERIALS AND FOOD

"GIVE us enough raw materials and food, and we will have normal industrial conditions in Germany within a year."

This optimistic observation was made to me by Max Haller, director of the Siemens-Schuckert electric works at Spandau. Herr Haller should know a little about his subject, for he is the directing genius of one of the biggest plants in Germany, employing 50,000 laborers.

Germany is now working with the scant stocks of raw materials left over from the war, and whatever she purchased from England and neutral neighbors before the mark took its spectacular downward tumble. She cannot now buy raw materials. The mark at present fluctuates between 2 and 2½ cents American money. To purchase $20,000 worth of American raw materials, Germany must pay nearly one million marks. No German could afford to buy goods made from raw materials obtained at such excessive cost.

What is the solution?

We can buy the goods. Let Germany work for us!

We could sell Germany as much raw stock as we could spare and let her pay in part with the goods manufactured from these raw stocks, that is in labor. We should still have the goods cheaper than we could manufacture them at home. For German wages are far below the American scale. A German laborer is well paid at 30 marks a day. Few receive

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

50 marks. And even 50 marks today is little more than $1 American money. And the transaction need not interfere with American wage-earners in the least. We could pick the lines of goods we are accustomed to import.

Fair-sized loans to Germany, granted on the stipulations suggested above, should help stabilize exchange. It is a certainty that unless the mark is brought back to somewhere near its pre-war value, Germany will never be able to pay a war indemnity. If Germany were taxed $25,000,000,000 (the amount actually offered by former Minister of Finance Dernburg), she would, if we figure the exchange at 2.50, have to pay something like 1,000,000,000,000 marks! It would take a creditor of more than ordinary imagination to discover a way of collecting that amount from an unproductive debtor. Yet it was stated last summer that $25,000,000,000 would not cover Germany's debt to the Entente. Even to meet her domestic budget for the next twelve months—a matter of a paltry 23,000,000,000 marks—Germany is now experiencing extreme difficulty. This amount is equal to the total annual income of all Prussians in excess of 3,000 marks.

CAPITAL FLEEING THE COUNTRY

HERR ERZBERGER is the author of the law appropriating big fortunes, starting with 10 per cent of fortunes aggregating 50,000 marks, and advancing to 63.9 per cent on fortunes of 100,000,000 marks and more. This measure has brought the curses of German business men and manufacturers on Erzberger. The following statement made to me by Dr. Helfferich expresses the sentiment: "It was about the worst thing that could be done at this moment when every penny of capital is so essential for industrial enterprise."

The time set for the application of the pruning knife is January, 1920. Herr Erzberger, however, is likely to be the most disappointed, in addition to being the most hated man in Germany, when he counts the result. Herr Erzberger had hardly introduced his unpopular bill in the National Assembly when a new word suddenly appeared

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in Germany's war-and-revolution vocabulary. It was "Kapitalflucht," meaning the flight of capital. And it did fly, by the million, over the German border to neutral safety. It went—and is still going—by aeroplane, by boat and in the baggage of professional smugglers posing as traveling business men. And while the government is howling and the newspapers writing columns about it, the practise goes on without hindrance. The customs officials at the border stations think vastly more of a hundred-mark bill than they do of the government or ten pages of newspaper comment.

It is typical of the extent of the "Kapitalflucht" that an agent approached me when I was leaving for America and suggested that I, for a consideration of 2,000 marks, smuggle 2,000,000 marks to Holland in my baggage. When I declined he offered me 300 marks for my passport, observing that I, as a newspaper correspondent who knew all government officials, "certainly could get out of Germany without a passport."

Before the word "Kapitalflucht" made its advent into German slang another term—"Schieber"—had gained popular recognition. It is difficult to define a "Schieber." The word is derived from the German verb "schieben"—to shove. The man who suggested that I take the 2,000,000 marks to Holland would properly be classified as a "Schieber." Bribe-taking customs officials are petty "Schiebers." A profiteer, a grafter and a gambler come under the same classification. Any person whose dealings are open to criticism is a "Schieber." And that means that almost every living German is a "Schieber" of some sort or other.

The dearth of food and clothes has made it extremely difficult for the average German to exist. The small group of profiteers who flourish on their fellow men's misfortunes have no difficulty, for they can pay the exorbitant prices charged by vendors of food and clothes who procure their stocks in the extensive sneak trade which is made possible by graft and collusion with officials charged with the equitable distribution of commodities.

Some restaurants offer palatable dinners at 50 to 100

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

marks per cover. Imagine your average German, with an income of 250 marks a week, paying 100 marks for a dinner!

Under such conditions it is not to be wondered at that the average German turns his hand to anything that will yield him a living. German scientists estimate that starvation is claiming 25,000 lives a month in Germany. Hospitals and sanitariums are crowded with consumptives who contracted the malady from malnutrition. And bearing in mind that Germany has none of the nourishing foods required to counteract the great white plague, consumption in Germany is tantamount to death.

IMMORALITY AND CRIME INCREASING

STARVATION has engendered immorality and crime. Murders and "hold-ups" are common. Burglary and theft have become second nature to a large element of Germans who five years ago could boast spotless reputations. The authorities are powerless. The best policemen and detectives were killed in the war. Those that are left are bribed into collusion with the criminals. Policemen, too, have families to support, and the salary doesn't reach half way.

The sapping of physical strength has reacted strongly on the mind. In adults weakening mentality manifests itself in an appetite for immoral books and plays; and authors, playwrights and producers are catering generously to the new demand. While it is true that the majority of German theatres attempt to stem the tide of demoralization and produce only healthy plays, it also is true that a growing number of German playhouses are specializing in dramas so filthy and obscene that they cannot even be discussed. This is what German "Kultur" is coming to.

In children the effect of starvation on the mind is lack of energy to play and inability to follow their studies at school. The next generation of Germans is done for, even if complete relief were offered immediately. It is too late to rescue Germany's youth from its doom. That should give France a feeling of security for the future.

Herr Haenisch, Socialist and Prussian Minister of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Education, expounded to me a beautiful educational program for Prussia's public schools. He said: "The idea of hatred and revenge will not be tolerated in the class room. Germany's youth will be taught that the redemption of the fatherland is to be achieved through useful work, not through another bloody war. Our text-books will be revised to conform to this plan of education, and the writings of the German League of Nations Society are to be introduced in our public schools in the form of lectures."

All this sounds beautiful and idealistic. But how can an underfed brain grasp such ideals?

As a contrast the Pan-German League proposes to establish special schools, "accessible to all," where the "future rebuilders of the fatherland" are to be "filled with love for their people and contempt for those that have harmed and would harm Germany." But the undernourished brain of German children is in no condition to register either love or contempt. At best it may be capable of intelligent apathy.

AMERICANS POPULAR IN GERMANY

IT IS typical of the German mental state that they for some unaccountable reason have come to regard Americans as their bosom friends. And it never occurs to them that Germany committed any act justifying America's declaration of war. It was to "safeguard our financial interests in England" and to "frighten Japan by a display of power" that we went to war, according to ninety-nine out of every hundred Germans. If you mention the unrestricted submarine warfare, it is at once defended as a "legitimate weapon against the blockade imposed by England." The sinking of the *Lusitania* is justified on the ground that "the ammunition she carried would have killed thousands of Germans."

It is hopeless to argue with them. And it is impossible to get on bad terms with them. Next to Hindenburg there is nobody in Germany as popular as an American citizen. We hold the purse strings, the food and the raw materials, and they know it. Without us Germany would be ruined forever.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The English are treated courteously but distantly. They are recognized as a sportsmanlike race that would not trample on a prostrate adversary. Yet every German harbors a certain amount of distrust for Englishmen that is entirely absent in his dealings with Americans. He feels that England played Germany an unfair trick by entering into the war. For the French, they have nothing but outspoken contempt and burning hatred. The French are blamed for the severity of the peace treaty, and they alone are singled out for revenge. Very frequently a German will speak of the "next war." If you ask, "Against whom?" the answer invariably is, "France, of course."

But this loudly-heralded war of revenge is a remote possibility. True, there are enough men of military age in Germany today to raise a formidable army. But the present generation has had enough of war to satisfy it for some time to come, and the next generation of Germans will lack the energy to indulge in martial practises.

Germany's immediate outlook is black hopelessness. She stands on the brink of economic ruin. And the Socialist government, having failed in everything it undertook, has not the power to inspire courage.

Right now interest is centered on the next general elections which are expected to bring the first faint ray of a brighter future. Within the next six months we shall probably see the monarchy once more firmly ensconced in Germany, and before another new year dawns we should know how wisely or how foolishly the Germans calculated.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW PHILADELPHIA TENANTS CURBED THE LANDLORDS

By GEORGE F. KEARNEY

The organized revolt of the tenants of Philadelphia against the petty injustices of their landlords is of national importance, for the struggle to rid every-day life of many of life's little selfishnesses is at the very heart of our present social problem. The story of how these tenants organized to stop rent-profiteering is valuable because it illustrates that an attention to detail is a more practical way of solving our present problems of social unrest than is any sweeping overturn of our entire social system.

PHILADELPHIA has had a revolution in which there has been no thought of blood-spilling and arson. It is distinctly an American readjustment where the victims of real estate profiteers turned.

Beginning in 1914 there was a gradual decline of building activities all over the country. Around Philadelphia the circle of suburbs no longer widened to take care of the normal increase in the city's population. Gradually the shipbuilding industries along the Delaware River, the powder and chemical works on the lower Delaware, the steel industries of the immediate vicinity and numerous little war industries that seemed to centre around Philadelphia attracted hundreds of thousands of workingmen, with their families, from all over the United States and Canada.

No longer able to cope with the city's normal increase in population, due to the decline of building during wartime, there was added this overwhelmingly abnormal demand for houses. Some of the great shipbuilding companies hastily built towns to accommodate their workers, the Du Ponts made the history of the boom towns of '49 repeat

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

themselves in the villages they built about their powder plants. But this new population wanted the bright lights of the city, they wanted the "movies," they wanted a place to spend their fabulous war salaries. Then, when we went into the War, Hog Island was built at the very gates of the city with a sublime but unjustified faith that their many new workingmen could find some place to live in Philadelphia. When the war was over the near-by boom towns were suddenly deserted and thousands of these families came into the city.

WAR INDUSTRIES CAUSE HOUSE FAMINE

ALL this situation created a great scarcity of houses. Eminently a city of homes, Philadelphia has not been able to meet the demands made upon it. A great many householders took whole families into their homes. It became a common practise for people not used to renting rooms to give up the traditional sitting-room on the second floor or to move their children downstairs so that they could fit up their third floors for housekeeping apartments. Thousands of large houses were hurriedly converted into flats and many disused houses were hastily renovated in an effort to keep pace with the demand for homes. But even then the demand was always greater than the supply.

Obeying the natural law of supply and demand the price for houses steadily increased. And this same law made it easier for the raising of rents all over the city. Old houses in the centre of the city that had fallen in value below their assessment were sold for a thousand dollars over their assessed value.

Rents were being raised all over the city and tenants were given the alternative to meet the new rental, buy, or move elsewhere. But there was no "elsewhere" to move to, so thousands of families gritted their teeth, paid the top-notch price for their home, and mused angrily over the state of affairs that allowed such a manifestation of harsh and unfeeling selfishness to exist.

All the time there was a normal and then an abnormal increase in rents going on all over the city. Investigation

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

showed that in many cases rents have been raised as many as seven times in two years. In one case a house renting for $18.00 brought $37.50 a month at the end of this rent-raising orgy. But I shall postpone the citing of specific cases until I come to the point where Governor Sproul, on the advice of his Attorney General, sent a representative to investigate, for I can then submit his findings as thoroughly authentic proof of heartless rent-profiteering.

CITIZENS ORGANIZE WHEN RENTS SOAR

IT WAS then that the Tenants' Protective Association of Pennsylvania was organized. It was a distinctly democratic movement. No welfare organization fathered it. It had no wealthy patrons. There was no politics mixed up in it. There were no "high-brow" theorists behind it. They launched no "drive" for contributions. Like Topsy, it "jest grew!"

Today the Tenants' Protective Association has 30,000 members in Philadelphia. It costs one dollar to join and there are no dues. This membership is distinctly of the middle class and, as yet, there are no erratic leaders who see an opportunity to stir up a revolution. It has no executive secretary drawing a large salary for his services. Moreover, it has no officers, for the organization leaders feel that there is little use of increasing their running expenses unnecessarily. The meetings are held in halls in fifteen sections of the city, as the Association is now organized by city wards. The business of the Association is transacted in the private homes of the officials, and the most active centre is at Fifty-fourth street and Hatfield avenue, at the home of Joseph E. Malony, who is president of the Thirty-fourth Ward Tenants' Protective Association and the most active spirit of the organization. He is a veteran journalist who covers City Hall and police assignments in the day-time, and who holds conferences with tenants at his home during the night. It is not a very cohesive organization. In its brief history leaders and organizers have come and gone, as in most of these mush-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

room organizations that spring without much conscious direction and thought from the great mass of people.

This Association came into prominence in the heyday of the "Own Your Own Home" campaign when it became noised about the city that considerable opposition was being developed among the masses to this effort to sell homes at an extraordinary figure to the common people. A number of reputable real estate dealers washed their hands of the movement, leaving the propaganda entirely in the hands of landlords eager to profit to the last dollar from the immense advertising campaign. Let it be said to the shame of several reputable newspapers in Philadelphia that they persisted in the printing of their unctuous articles favoring the "Own Your Own Home" idea even after sensing a growing opposition among their readers.

THE TENANTS' ASSOCIATION BEGIN INVESTIGATING

THEN, in stepped the Tenants' Protective Association to crystallize this opposing sentiment. The value of this movement has been to draw attention to the profiteering and give the other sort of publicity to the real estate situation. Until the Tenants' Protective Association stepped into the limelight, the thousands of evictions and uncomfortable situations developed in the city, due to a general raising of rents, were passed by unnoticed. But along came this Association, with a large membership, to focus public attention on their movement. Their first task was to call attention to the fact that a number of landlords were deliberately raising rents to force their tenants to buy their homes. This was accomplished rather successfully, and the "Own Your Own Home" campaign gradually waned, causing a general lowering of prices.

Then officials of the Association took their cases of rent-profiteering to Harrisburg and submitted the whole matter to the Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, William I. Schaffer. He went to Philadelphia, had a conference with C. J. Hepburn, the counsel for the Philadelphia Real Estate Board, who assured him that his organization saw the fairness of some of the claims of the Association. The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reputable real estate men of the city, represented by this real estate board, have done everything in their power to relieve the conditions which were rather thoughtlessly brought about. These men turned their resources into the fight to oust the profiteer who was rapidly discrediting their profession.

Attorney-General Schaffer submitted the case to Governor Sproul who dispatched ex-Lieutenant-Governor Frank B. McClain, the executive director of the new State Board of Welfare Commissioners, to Philadelphia with orders to probe the rent situation there. He was further instructed to remain until the condition was relieved.

The value of the Tenants' Association to this investigation was in submitting of evidence to the State probers. They developed a questionnaire which goes into an exhaustive history of each case. The increases of rents, the repairs done to the house during the year, the general condition of the house and everything about the case was noted. To these questionnaires are pinned all letters sent by landlords, agents and lawyers, constable levies, sheriff's writs, notices to move, bills of sale and warning threats.

FLAGRANT EXAMPLES OF RENT-PROFITEERING

THIS mass of evidence was sufficient to impress the State authorities with the seriousness of the situation. Altogether the Association showed Director McClain 3000 cases showing varying degrees of profiteering. One questionnaire showed the rent of an apartment increased nine times in a year. Another showed a prominent physician refusing to meet a raise of forty dollars a month. He was served with a writ of possession and, even though he moved, his landlord insisted that he should pay eviction costs although the writ obtained was only for possession. A woman storekeeper in West Philadelphia reported that her rent was raised from $55 to $110 over night, by a firm that had had possession of the property only two days.

There was considerable evidence of violence in ejection. The case of James H. Allen, an ex-soldier was cited.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He charged that, in his absence, the sheriff entered the house by smashing the front window; that the rugs were torn up from the floor without removing the tacks, and that the movers were not particular how they handled the furniture. A half-load of wood was taken out of the house and dumped on the front lawn, while the coal was left in the cellar.

In the many cases of forcible evictions that came to the notice of the Tenants' Protective Association, the officials instructed the tenants as to their rights by law. They advised the tenant to close all doors, so as to legally bar the constable. Previous to this there had been many cases of forcible entrances, but when they learned that the Association was back of the cases the constables grew very careful of their procedure. In cases of restraint the tenant was advised that the constable had to make a restraint on each and every article of furniture in making their levies. In serving their writs the Association continually reminded the constables that they could not shove them under the door and that, if this procedure were continued, they would sue him on his bond.

The Association hired the services of four lawyers working at a minimum sum. It also hired plumbers to be ready at any time to turn on the water shut off by landlords in houses where the tenant had refused to meet a rent raise. In some instances the landlord, knowing that the house was protected by the Tenants' Association, ordered the water turned off and bricks and plaster thrown into the drain box in order to prevent the Association's plumbers from turning the water on again.

HOW LANDLORDS RETALIATED

ANOTHER way of making it uncomfortable for the tenant adopted by some landlords was in sending a man to fix the heater who actually removed an essential part, making it impossible to light the fire. Then there was the famous case of the large apartment house on Fifty-second Street in which the tenants, backed by the Association, refused to meet their third increase in rent.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

They awoke one morning to find the heat and water turned off. The Board of Health was summoned by the Association and they turned on the water. As a result of this incident and several similar ones, an ordinance was introduced into the city council making it punishable with fine and imprisonment if any landlord refused to keep the heat of his apartment house at 60 degrees temperature. It also became known that no landlord could use such means to rid his premises of his tenants.

As winter draws on the situation in Philadelphia is becoming even more acute. It has been impossible to find vacant houses and, working on this assumption, the Tenants' Association has advised their members to utterly disregard all notices of eviction and all unjust raises of rent. With the advent of State probers, public opinion in the city has been against the profiteering landlord, and the newspapers have been carrying a number of stories of pitiful evictions. In one case the Tenants' Association turned out in a body, 300 strong, to watch silently the eviction of a family in which the mother was an invalid. It is important to note that at no time has the Association advocated violence.

In a short time Commissioner McClain had sifted out the evidence presented by the Association. He was not vested with judicial powers and his whole function was to bring about amicable agreements between landlords and tenants. There is little doubt that State officials feared this Tenants' movement and were anxious to use all the means in their power to pour State oil on the troubled waters. Mr. McClain's first move was to call before him seven obvious cases of profiteering. All but one of these seven real estate dealers modified their claims to the satisfaction of the Commission.

One case angered Commissioner McClain, who branded the owner of rental properties on North Sixtieth street as "the only *Shylock* who insisted on having his full pound of flesh and then some." According to the statement issued by Mr. McClain, this landlord refused to accept $24 a month as rental for properties at 333-39 and 341-43 North

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sixtieth street, after the appraisal committee of the Philadelphia Real Estate Board had fixed that amount as a fair rental. He also refused to accept a compromise figure of $26 a month, proposed by the Commission. He insisted on boosting the rent to $30 a month, refusing anything but a month-to-month lease, and declared that the rent would go still higher before the end of the winter.

"When reminded that his action," reads the statement issued under the signature of Mr. McClain, "would entitle him to the name of 'Rent Profiteer,' with every letter in the term 'Profiteer' a capital, he seemed pleased with having that distinction given."

In this case, since the State Commission of Public Welfare is without power, nothing could be done except to give this landlord some very uncomfortable publicity.

TENANTS SUCCEED IN CHANGING LEASE-FORMS

THE Tenants' Protective Association then called the attention of the Commission of Public Welfare to the many unfair clauses in the printed lease-form in general use by the real estate men of Philadelphia. The terms of the lease favor the landlord, and certain protections to the tenant granted by law are waived by the tenant in signing it. The matter of revising this lease-form was taken up with the Real Estate Board, and they consented to change the accepted form.

The first big change in the accepted form is the making of a six-months' lease instead of the old month-to-month plan. It was further provided that if a lease is not terminated by October in any given year, it will extend through a period of six months with sixty days' notice when required to move, instead of the usual fifteen-day notice. This latter provision was made to prevent the many evictions in mid-winter, which turned the families out in the cold with no other houses to move into.

The second big change was the elimination in the lease-form of the waiver which made the tenant agree to surrender the right to appeal from the decision of any magistrate on the subject of the lease. Another change was the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

setting aside of that section of the lease in which the tenant agreed to waive his right to refuse entrance to his landlord, except at a time he specified. Under the new lease the tenant is not forced to admit the landlord for tours of inspection, nor can he bring prospective purchasers into the home except with the expressed permission of the lessee. These changes, now being incorporated in the new printed lease-forms of the reputable dealers in the city, constitute the most interesting victory of the war of the tenants, for it illustrates how easily and how sensibly many of life's little selfishnesses can be eliminated by the exercise of cool, common sense methods of arbitration. The Tenants' Association were assured by seventeen of the city's largest trust companies that this new form of lease, known popularly as the "Tenant's Lease," will be adopted by them.

All these reforms, however, have not brought about a millennium, and Commissioner McClain is still sitting in arbitration in Philadelphia deciding cases that have come up between tenant and landlord. The Tenants' Association have adopted a sign for their members to put into their windows, and it is a common sight in the residential sections to see these signs, with their "T. P. A." trade-mark. In each case the legend means that there is trouble on between the tenant and the landlord.

The sheriff of Philadelphia, Harry Ransley, is face to face with a peculiar situation owing to this war of the tenants against the landlords. He has some 700 writs of ejections which he has not served on tenants. His term of office expires on January 1st, 1920, and it is said that he can be made personally and financially responsible for the failure to perform his duty as a sheriff. He has interpreted the law in the pursuit of his duties in a lenient manner, with full appreciation of the present social condition. It can be well understood that a move on his part to evict 700 tenants would be equivalent to starting a small social revolution.

A SANE AND VALUABLE GOVERNMENT

THERE has been one attempt to revoke the charter of the Tenants' Protective Association of Pennsylvania

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on the ground that it is a public nuisance. Such a move, if successful at this time, would accentuate the condition, for it cannot be emphasized too strongly that this organization has never advocated violence and, so far, has had recourse solely to law and to the common sense of the community and State officials in dealing with their disputes. An organized movement of this sort demonstrates the great sanity of the American middle classes and also the wisdom of meeting all such movements of the masses, as did the State authorities, with a sympathetic appreciation of their aims.

The leaders of this movement see in the organization of the small consumer a means of fighting profiteering in food and clothing as they did in renting. Already this Tenants' Protective Association is co-operating with the Federal Government in supplying evidence of food-profiteering. Just the other day they exposed six cases of sugar hoarding and they are preparing to keep their members informed of the stores where they can buy the cheapest and the best food. This will be accomplished in a negative way by a silent boycott, after investigation of food profiteers. Then, just the other day, at one of their sectional meetings, the members of this organization pledged, as a thrift measure, to have their shoes half-soled and heeled twice before discarding them, and they promised to wear a hat for, at least, a year. At their meetings economic problems are often discussed and information of the dangers of the use of saccharine as a substitute for sugar and the poison of certain brands of ripe olives were imparted to the members.

To be sure there is little of the broad sweep of ideals in the working out of this organization, born of necessity in Philadelphia, for its activities are very close to the ground, and are carried on by lowly people. But somewhere in this movement of the masses against life's many little selfishnesses the student should find much food for thought in facing the great social problems that confront our country today.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHEN CAPITAL GOES TO COURT

(*Continued from Page 10*)

LEGISLATION FAVORING LABOR

THE most vital legislation brought about in the last ten years, in favor of labor, had revolved around an effort to bring about more humane perception by capital of the trials and dangers which labor encountered in its work. They can be divided into three impulses:

1. The Workman's Compensation Act—designed to substantially benefit the workman and his family in case of accident or death while in the employ of capital.

2. Labor laws governing the treatment of women and children in factories—designed to compel capital to care for them with paternal impulse.

3. Miscellaneous Labor laws—relating to the improvement of employees occupied in dangerous work.

The laws of the State of New York are sufficiently representative of similar new legislation in other States, to reveal how capital has been compelled to appear in court under complaint of labor. The system adopted to make a survey of inhuman labor conditions required the appointment of a State Industrial Commission, the five members of which are appointed by the Governor for a service of six years. The general impulse of these Industrial State Commissions, operating in other States as well as in New York, came from Germany. England subsequently adopted the same means of disciplining capital in its relation to labor.

In view of recent charges made by organized labor against capital it must not be forgotten that this new legislation, which has increased to an extent embracing every known complaint of labor, was in existence long before the recent strikes occurred. Reconstruction of internal problems of industry which concern the rights of labor, was in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

effect some years before the war. As far back as 1909, a great many laws tending to improve the conditions of labor were being considered, and the consolidated laws were in the main a codification. Most of the statutes designed to protect labor were of very gradual growth. Their impulse was accelerated within the last fifteen years. If organized labor, in its present complaint of capital, gave as much care to presenting the good things which the courts had accomplished for it, as it did in prosecuting capital with questionable declarations of imposition, there would be a better chance of adjusting all claims in due course of legal procedure.

In the opinion of the Court it was quite inconceivable that labor, at any rate that large portion of it made up of American citizens, enjoying all the privileges of citizenship, should decline to submit its grievances to the orderly process of the Court. Upon this basis of reasoning the State legislatures had energetically functioned all their powers to protect labor, and, upon that contention, the courts had sustained those powers. Whenever political intent had crept into any new legislation intended to govern the differences between capital and labor, it had failed to impress the courts with its purpose. It is always correct to assume that American justice, when sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States, becomes the highest application of our national ideals.

This conclusion brought the argument of the Court to a fundamental opinion that, in almost every legal discipline exerted upon capital embodied in new legislation of the last ten years in the interest of labor, legislation had been steeped in the essence of American principles, which are admitted to be the supreme ideals of government known to the world. With this assurance, with this direct enthusiasm in these principles, the legislatures of many States went to work towards disciplining capital, through the courts.

Let us look at this new legislation broadly, seeking the underlying purpose in it.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORKMAN'S COMPENSATION LAW

TAKE the Workman's Compensation Law. In the State of New York, upon a test case taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, it was rejected on the ground that it was in effect a seizure of property without due process of law. This rejection by the Supreme Court of the United States did not result in a final victory for capital; for subsequently the legislature of the State of New York adopted the necessary procedure to submit to the people an amendment of the State Constitution and that amendment was adopted and, later, was declared constitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1914, in New York Central Railroad Company *v.* White, 243 U.S. 188.

The Workman's Compensation Law provides compensations payable to employees who have been injured, or to their heirs if they are killed, while in the employ of capital. It compels capital to assume this responsibility in the most drastic and definite terms. The employer has no defense against the claim made by the employee under this law, because it assumes that the workingman, being in the first-line trenches of industry, must receive all the moral and material protection he deserves. The hazard of labor is provided for in such liberal terms as to include forty-five groups of employers listed as conducting hazardous work. It seems to include almost everything. Among the many employments which the courts have declared hazardous occupations, and under which their decisions have ordered capital to compensate employees in case of accident, are the following industries: All construction and repair work on railways, in car shops, in operation of railways, in machine shops, steam and power plants. In the construction and repair of telephone lines and wires, in the repair of vessels whether used in interstate or foreign commerce, in shipyards, in longshore work, in dredging and pile-driving, in construction or repair of electric light and electric power lines, in building roads, sidewalks, sewers or subway construction. It applies even to landscape gardening, planting, moving, trimming and care of trees. It applies to all lumbering

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

industries, to pulp and paper mills, to the manufacture of furniture, organs and pianos. In planing mills, in mines, quarries, in the manufacture of glass, and in all iron, steel and metal foundries. It applies to the manufacture of drugs and chemicals, to the manufacture of cereals and the operation of grain elevators. It applies to packing houses and all wholesale markets; to tanneries, the manufacture of furs, to employees of hotels, to the manufacture of tobacco, of ropes, brooms or brushes, to flax mills, to manufacturers of clothing, to power laundries, to printing establishments, to stone cutting and to employment on State contract labor.

These are only a few of the hazardous occupations which the courts are requested to protect under the Workman's Compensation Law. In case of death through accident the element of negligence is scarcely taken into account so far as to capital's responsibility to compensate the family of the deceased. The law specifically indicates capital's liability thus:

HAZARDOUS OCCUPATIONS PROTECTED

"*Liability for Compensation.*—Every employer subject to the provisions of this chapter shall pay or provide as required by this chapter compensation according to the schedules of this article for the disability or death of his employee resulting from an accidental personal injury sustained by the employee arising out of and in the course of his employment, without regard to fault as a cause of such injury, except where the injury is occasioned by the willful intention of the injured employee to bring about the injury or death of himself or of another, or where the injury results solely from the intoxication of the injured employee while on duty. Where the injury is occasioned by the willful intention of the injured employee to bring about the injury or death of himself or of another, or where the injury results solely from the intoxication of the injured employee while on duty, neither the injured employee nor any dependent of such employee shall receive compensation under this chapter."

The State Industrial Commission, to signify the main purpose of the Workman's Compensation Law, approved of the following plan to establish a State fund, in which the employer could insure himself or not, as he saw fit:

"*Creation of State Fund.*—There is hereby created a fund to be known as 'the state insurance fund,' for the purpose of insuring employers against liability under this chapter and of assuring

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the persons entitled thereto the compensation provided by this chapter. Such fund shall consist of premiums received and paid into the fund, of property and securities acquired by and through the use of moneys belonging to the fund and of interest earned upon moneys belonging to the fund and deposited or invested as herein provided. Such fund shall be administered by the commission without liability on the part of the state beyond the amount of such fund. Such fund shall be applicable to the payment of losses sustained on account of insurance and to the payment of expenses in the manner provided in this chapter."

Compensations are payable as follows:

"*Compensation, How Payable.*—Compensation under the provisions of this chapter, shall be payable periodically by the employer, in accordance with the method of payment of the wages of the employee at the time of his injury or death, and shall be so provided for in any award; but the commission may determine that any payments may be made monthly or at any other period, as it may deem advisable. The state fund or insurance corporation in which an employer is insured shall, within ten days after demand by such employer, and on the presentation of evidence of payment of compensation in accordance with this chapter, reimburse the employer therefor. An injured employee, or in case of death his dependents or personal representative, shall give receipts for payment of compensation to the employer paying the same and such employer shall forward receipts therefor promptly to the commission. The commission, whenever it shall so deem advisable, may commute such periodical payments to one or more lump sum payments to the injured employee or, in case of death, his dependents, provided the same shall be in the interest of justice."

So drastic is this law and its demands upon the employer and so liberal in its construction towards labor, that a special provision in the law is made for alien employees.

"*Aliens.*—Compensation under this chapter to aliens not residents (or about to become non-residents) of the United States or Canada, shall be the same in amount as provided for residents, except that dependents in any foreign country shall be limited to surviving wife and child or children, or, if there be no surviving wife or child or children, to the surviving father or mother (grandfather or grandmother) whom the employee has supported, either wholly or in part, for the period of one year prior to the date of the accident, and except that the commission may, at its option, or upon the application of the insurance carrier, shall, commute all further installments of compensation to be paid to such aliens, by paying or causing to be paid to them one-half of the commuted amount of such future installments of compensation as determined by the commissions."

The Industrial Commission seeking further to clarify their intentions to compel capital to arrive at an equitable,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

peaceful understanding of their responsibilities to labor, approved a plan for certain associations of employers to organize for accident prevention. The Commission incorporated this idea in the following rule:

> "*Association for Accident Prevention.*—The employers in any of the groups described in section two or established by the commission may with the approval of the commission form themselves into an association for accident prevention, and may make rules for that purpose. If the commission is of the opinion that an association so formed sufficiently represents the employers in such group, it may approve such rules, and when so approved and approved by the industrial board of the labor department they shall be binding on all employers in such group. If such an approved association appoint an inspector or expert for the purpose of accident prevention the commission may at its discretion provide in whole or in part for the payment of the remuneration and expenses of such inspector or expert, such payment to be charged in the accounting to such group. Every such approved association may make recommendations to the commission concerning the fixing of premiums for classes of hazards, and for individual risks within such group."

The American principle of protecting labor in event of accidents and injury has been extended to employees engaged under interstate and foreign commerce.

> "*Interstate Commerce.*—The provisions of this chapter shall apply to employers and employees engaged in intrastate, and also in interstate or foreign commerce, for whom a rule of liability or method of compensation has been or may be established by the Congress of the United States, only to the extent that their mutual connection with intrastate work may and shalll be clearly separable and distinguishable from interstate or foreign commerce, except that such employer and his employees working only in this state may, subject to the approval and in the manner provided by the commission and so far as not forbidden by any act of Congress, accept and become bound by the provisions of this chapter in like manner and with the same effect in all respects as provided herein for other employers and their employees."

The Interstate Commerce rule of the Workman's Compensation Law has been embodied in the Federal Employers Liability Act entitled: "An act relating to the liability of common carriers by railroad to their employees in certain cases."

LIABILITY FOR INJURIES

UNDER the common law a master was not liable for injuries suffered by a servant if such injuries were

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

caused by the negligence of a fellow servant. For instance, if an accident occurred whereby a brakeman on a train was killed or injured, and that accident was due to the negligence of the conductor, the representatives of the deceased brakeman or the brakeman himself, if he were injured but did not die, would have no case against the railroad for the reason that the death or injury occurred because of the negligence of a fellow servant, to-wit, the conductor.

Under the Federal Employees Liability Law it was and is provided that such negligence by the fellow servant shall not bar recovery. To take another illustration, if the brakeman were killed or injured under the circumstances where he was himself at fault, and his negligence contributed to the accident which resulted in the death or injury, then under the common law he could not recover. Now, however, under the Federal Employees Liability Law, he can recover, provided that negligence by the railroad company is also proved and his own contributory negligence merely affects the amount of damages which he would receive.

In other words, the way the law works out is that if he lost an arm and the damage was estimated at $10,000 and the jury were to find that the accident was due equally to his fault and to that of the railroad, the amount which would be awarded to him would be half of $10,000, so that in such circumstances he would obtain $5000 where, under the common law, he would have obtained nothing. The Federal Employees law applies only to employees engaged in interstate commerce. For example, if a car were filled with coal and that car was destined from a point in Pennsylvania to a point in New York, and the accident occurred in the car yards in Pennsylvania, such an accident would come within the beneficent provisions of this law.

In addition to the foregoing, we have the Workman's Compensation acts found in various States. Here provision is made to compensate the workman whether the accident was due to his fault or not, and elaborate provisions are set up for insurance in connection therewith, so that each employer must comply with certain provisions of law whereby funds would be available to compensate the work-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man if he is injured or his legal beneficiaries if he is killed. The inspiration for these provisions has apparently come from the effort of the Industrial Commission to establish the Workman's Compensation Law in the national life of labor.

The Labor Law of the State of New York, the labor laws of other States being similar, contained such penal provisions against capital. It was enacted in the consolidated laws of the State of New York in 1909, with subsequent amendments. Digging below the dry phraseology in which the terms of this law are expressed, one finds many ethical expectations in it, reflecting upon the negligence of capital towards labor previous to its enactment. It is interesting to find that as far back as 1909, eight hours constituted a day's work, under the labor law. In the regulation established by the New York State Industrial Commission in this connection, a reference is made to the wages.

The labor law says:

> "The wages to be paid for a legal day's work, to all classes of such laborers, workmen or mechanics upon all public works, shall not be less than the prevailing rate for a day's work in the same trade or occupation in the locality within the state where such public work is performed."

WAGES AND WELFARE LAWS

THE penalty imposed on capital for any violation of this section of the labor law was a fine of $500, or imprisonment for thirty days for a first offense, a fine of $1000 and a forfeiture of the contract for the second offense. While this applied to employees engaged by contractors carrying out public work, it conveys the spirit with which the lawmakers intended to protect labor against capital.

The labor law compelled every employer of labor engaged in factory or mercantile establishments to provide at least twenty-four consecutive hours of rest in every calendar week. It further demands that all payment of wages must be in cash.

The attitude of the labor law towards women and children is important. One of its principal regulations says:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Every person employing females in a factory or as waitresses in a hotel or restaurant shall provide and maintain suitable seats, with proper backs where practicable, for the use of such female employees. Where females are engaged in work which can be properly performed in a sitting posture, suitable seats with backs shall be supplied in the factory for the use of female employees."

Under the labor law the premises of all capital are strenuously inspected. In the State of New York there are 125 factory inspectors, thirty of whom are women. One of these inspectors is obliged to speak and write at least five European languages in addition to English, receiving a salary of $2500 a year. These inspectors cover an innumerable degree of investigation, all tending to safeguard, protect, improve, under penal laws against capital, the conditions of labor. The requirements of the labor law for the employment of children, particularly minors, is important.

It says:

"*Employment of Minors.*—No child under the age of fourteen years shall be employed, permitted or suffered to work in or in connection with any factory in this state, or for any factory at any place in this state. No child between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years shall be so employed, permitted or suffered to work unless an employment certificate, issued as provided in this article, shall have been theretofore filed in the office of the employer at the place of employment of such child. Nothing herein contained shall prevent a person engaged in farming from permitting his children to do farm work for him upon his farm. Boys over the age of twelve years may be employed in gathering produce, for not more than six hours in any one day subject to the requirements of chapter twenty-one of the laws of nineteen-hundred and nine, entitled 'An act relating to education, constituting chapter sixteen of the consolidated laws,' and all acts amendatory thereof."

All children between fourteen and sixteen years of age employed in factories are subject to a physical examination whenever required by a medical inspector of the Department of Labor, to ascertain their fitness for labor. No child under the age of sixteen shall be permitted to work in or in connection with any factory before eight o'clock in the morning or after five in the evening, or more than six days in one week. The limitation of the working hours for women to fifty-four hours a week is constitutional.

The number of persons who can occupy any factory building or portion thereof above the ground floor shall be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

limited to such number as can safely escape by means of exit in case of fire. This regulation has been further stiffened by an order that no more than fourteen persons shall work on any one floor for every full twenty-two inches in width of stairway. In every factory, two stories or over, notices are posted certifying the number of persons who may occupy each floor. Every known safety-device is ordered by the labor law to be used in factories—automatic sprinklers, fire-proof receptacles, rules concerning cleanliness of rooms and of factory buildings. Each employee in a factory, during working hours from six in the morning to six at night, must have 250 cubic feet of air space and not less than 400 cubic feet to work in. The labor law protects labor strictly in regard to ventilation, it penalizes capital if accidents are not immediately reported to the Industrial Commission, it regulates the need of drinking water, of wash-rooms and dressing-rooms, of time allowed for meals, of laundries. The labor law makes a list of certain machines which women and children are forbidden to operate, including a long list of factories. Realizing that the health of women is a paramount national ideal for the betterment of the race, the labor law says:

> "In order to protect the health and morals of females employed in factories by providing an adequate period of rest at night no woman shall be employed or permitted to work after ten o'clock in the evening."

To protect the public from "tenement factories," that is, where articles are tenement-made, inspections are made to find evidences of disease in any part of a tenement house in which articles are manufactured, altered, repaired or finished. Such an emergency is referred to the Health Department which proceeds against the employer. The labor law furthermore endeavors to bring about mediation whenever a strike or lockout occurs. There is a board of mediation and arbitration which works under the direction of the Industrial Commission. The labor law issues a badge which is a permit to children under fourteen years of age who shall expose or offer for sale articles in the street, and is issued by the District Superintendent of the Board of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Education of the city and school district where the child resides.

CAPITAL HELD STRICTLY TO ACCOUNT

IN REVIEWING these laws, briefly, the purpose has been merely to convey to the reader how strictly capital has been held to account in the conduct of its business.

It is obvious that while in a general way these laws favor capital in ultimate efficiency of labor, at the same time the actual advantages of these laws are for labor. From the mass of legislation which has already been secured to discipline capital in all its human relations with labor, there is room and infinite suggestion for new legislation. The great unrest with which capital has been struggling will no doubt inspire it, but in all the small things that contribute to the daily lives of men and women engaged in what is generally called labor, capital has been compelled, by order of the Court, to do everything in its power up to the present.

With the hope that these glimpses of the control by legal methods that labor now has over capital, the Judge expressed his opinion that this analysis should be helpful in stabilizing present disturbances. It has been shown that there are about three million men in this country belonging to labor unions. There are twenty-seven million men who do not. These are submerged in the "one big union" of over 100,000,000 citizens who pay in dollars, in suffering and in sacrificed liberty, for the high costs and high crimes of mobocracy without and within labor unions.

The only solution the Court could possibly suggest in the outcome of this national menace, was this:

"It is entirely against law and order to compel workingmen to work against their will, but when this great issue of admitted conspiracy to overthrow the Government in the guise of alleged injustice of capital to labor is proven, the Government itself must take strong hand and, if need be, mine the coal, run the railroad and control the food until orderly, lawful and productive conditions are restored and normalized."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE THEATRE IN REVIEW

By COURTENAY SAVAGE

The Mid-Season Musical Flood

THE MID-SEASON finds a wealth of musical plays, most of them of the variety that is best qualified by the word success. However, this magic title is qualified, for, while a few of the productions are sure to find lasting favor, and be amusing to warm theatre-goers when the summer arrives, others will not stand such a test of climate.

"Aphrodite," for instance, the most lavish spectacle offered in many seasons, will hardly last for an indefinite period. It is a wonderful piece of work, produced under the supervision of the master of stagecraft, David Belasco, yet it lacks that element of popularity that will keep it months in a single city. "Aphrodite" has been popular in Paris and other continental cities, for these spectacles hold first place in the hearts of the theatre-going public. They love the lavish use of colors, the ballet, the stage groupings which necessarily hinder the action of the drama. And there really is drama in "Aphrodite," this story of *Chrysis of Galilee*, the most famous courtesan of her day. *Demetrios*, the sculptor, loved by the queen, desires the fair lady, and she tells him that he cannot buy her love, but that if he will commit three crimes she will gladly accept the affection he offers. He commits the crimes, and they bring no happiness—and the end is tragedy, with the beautiful *Chrysis* climbing the tower to her death. Such is the skeleton background. Dorothy Dalton, who returns to the speaking stage, after having made her great success through the medium of the motion pictures, is a very beautiful and satisfactory *Chrysis*. As *Demetrios*, the sculptor, McKay Morris was pictorially perfect, but hardly satisfying as far as acting ability is concerned. Mlle. Dazie acted and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

danced with fire, and numerous "bits" stand prominently from a cast which is longer than any in the city.

The question is, however, will "Aphrodite" ever make enough money to repay the producers for their tremendous financial outlay, and for their time. It is a lovely production, but do productions of such a type pay?

Quite a contrast to "Aphrodite" is the little musical comedy which has been called "Irene." It probably cost a hundred thousand dollars less to produce, and the chances are that it will make at least that much more money than the spectacle. The reasons are many. To begin with, there is a story which tells of a little girl from the tenements who is given her chance at happiness by being chosen to advertise the clothes of a famous modiste. This allows for just a touch of drama, and it is mingled gracefully, bringing in the more serious movements with ease. The second point in favor of the new piece is the really charming music that Harry Tierney has written, while the third is Edith Day. Miss Day made herself a favorite in "Going Up," and has more than duplicated her success in the winsome role of *Irene O'Dare*. Finally, there is a splendid company, every one worthy of mention, and handsome stage settings that have an atmosphere of novelty.

Another musical play which has a touch of drama—or, in this case, the drama is so prevalent that it might be said that it had a touch of musical comedy—is "The Magic Melody." It is the story of a woman's revenge. The Sicilian prologue is handsomely staged, and allows Julia Dean, who ought to have a good play for her really remarkable talent, to indulge in emotion of the hysterical order. The body of the play is years later, with Miss Dean as a famous opera singer, an unhappy mother who is always searching for her son. How she finds him, and how she sacrifices her revenge so that he may be happy with the girl he loves, is a good story. The piece is handsomely staged, and has in addition to Miss Dean the services of Tom McNaughton, who is funny, and Charles Purcell, who uses his splendid voice to advantage.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The long-limbed Charlotte Greenwood, whose kick is so unusual that a prominent mathematician once worked it out from a geometrical standpoint, is the star of a new musical play entitled "Linger Longer Letty." It starts in the kitchen, with Miss Greenwood coming up from the cellar in a bathing suit, announcing that it is the costume she always wears when she makes ice cream. There is a love story, but it is really subordinate to the antics of the star, who is genuinely funny. In her humor she is aided by Olin Howland, who is longer and thinner than most folks, and therefore quite a match for the elongated Charlotte. The play is not as brisk as it might be in spots, but it is better than the average, and will probably serve for Miss Greenwood's starring vehicle for two or three seasons.

"The Little Blue Devil" is an adaptation of Clyde Fitch's "The Blue Mouse," and Lillian Lorraine has the title role, sharing with Bernard Granville the starring honors. It is a more or less ordinary production, not particularly helped by Miss Lorraine, who is very handsome at times, but never surpassing the other members of her company in ability. The familiar plot has been twisted to suit modern musical comedy, and the action stopped for the songs and dances. Of the songs there are two that please, while the dancing honors are many, with Bernard Granville doing his familiar tricks with his feet, and adding a new step or two for good measure. The real honors, however, go to a dancing team, Kerr and Weston. They can dance in a manner which halts the proceedings.

Then, just for good measure, there is "The Rose of China." This play, which cannot avoid contrast with "East is West," is charmingly staged, and well acted. It tells of the forced marriage of a young man who invades a Chinese garden, the marriage being preferable to murder, and either one being necessary, for the girl of the garden has been kissed and degraded in caste—and of his corpulent friend who has followed him, and is the real cause of the trouble. The action moves fairly swiftly, and there are plenty of laughs through the work of Frank MacIntyre,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who is one of the blunderers into the garden, and Cecil Cunningham, as the maiden who has tracked MacIntyre from Maine to China—and all because he was rash enough to answer a matrimonial advertisement. She is a new type of comic, not grotesque, but handsome, and modishly gowned. Oscar Shaw is the young man, and he sings and dances nicely. Jane Richardson, who plays the little Chinese girl, is new to New York, and will surely find favor and an enviable career before her, for she has a small sweet voice, a pleasing personality, and stage grace. The stage settings are very beautiful, and the music above the average.

The War Set to Music

THE WAR, which has featured fairly prominently in the new offerings of the season, invaded the musical stage, and managed to present Elsie Janis in a revue which shows her at her best. The cast is made up of overseas men, with a half dozen girls to fill in, and make a background for Miss Janis' many appearances, each of which emphasizes the fact that she holds a place all her own in musical comedy —and that over here, as well as over there, she is a prime favorite because she is versatile and always entertaining. There is only one drawback to the show, and that is that many of the references are so essentially A. E. F. that those in the audience who did not get the chance to go across, may not understand to the full their value. Miss Janis is responsible for a large part of the book of the show and also for the staging. She has succeeded in her work, and the result is sure to be financially happy.

Another war-time musical comedy brings Peggy Wood and Donald Brian back to New York. This is "Buddies"—a rather quaint entertainment with Brittany in war-time for its setting. The story is simple, though the love-misunderstanding and final happy-ever-after ending to the play does not bring any novelty, but is rather a pleasing retelling of a familiar tale. The acting is, of course, of the superior order, Miss Wood's charming personality dominating the play. Donald Brian, less of a dancing man and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more of the romantic hero, is satisfying, while Roland Young, as the humorous *Buddie*, makes his part stand prominently from among the others.

Three Ladies Waiting for Plays

MARJORIE RAMBEAU is going to find a real drama in her mail, and the play is going to run for years. She has all the fire, the depth of emotion, that are necessary for a great actress, and, in addition, she has beauty, a commanding stage presence, and she speaks distinctly. Now, let her find a good play. The latest drama that she is called upon to uphold is called "The Unknown Woman." It deals with politics and sex, and its writers, Marjorie Blani and Stanley Lewis—aided by Willard Mack, who used to be Miss Rambeau's husband—have used practically every stage trick known to bring about suspense and action. It is a crude piece of writing, but Miss Rambeau and her supporting company are of the quality that will carry the play to a measure of success in spite of the material with which they are forced to labor.

A second actress who might enjoy a very profitable season, if she had a play worthy of her talents, is Billie Burke. In Somerset Maughan's "Cæsar's Wife," a very inferior English comedy, she is called upon to be most unnatural, and the story is neither logical nor pleasing. As in the case of Miss Rambeau's play, the acting is of a high order, and so the lines are lifted from the ordinary, and the play becomes at least interesting enough to spend an evening in its company. Miss Burke deserves something better, and it is hoped that the lack of proper material will not send her back to the movies for another several years.

Still another actress, this time no less than Laurette Taylor, is suffering from the lack of a real play. "One Night in Rome," from the pen of Miss Taylor's very gifted husband, J. Hartley Manners, lacks the element of plot. The characterization is clever, the lines interesting, but the missing action often makes the play talky. The slight story tells of a woman who makes her living as a fortune teller, not of the charlatan type, but one who sincerely

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

believes in her art. There is a secret in her life, and on this alone hinges the dramatic action. Miss Taylor is, of course, excellent, her picture of an Italian woman of culture being the result of careful study. The play is sure of a certain vogue, but think of the tremendous impression Miss Taylor would make in a comedy of the superior type.

Mr. Belasco's Latest

MR. DAVID BELASCO has used "The Son-Daughter" to elevate Lenore Ulric to stardom. The play, written by Mr. Belasco and George Scarborough, has the Chinese quarter of New York City as its background. It is a vivid, realistic story of Chinese patriotism, with *Lien Wha* (Miss Ulric), fighting for liberty and the right to love. There are moments when the action is not sustained to the highest pitch, but the accurate setting, the element of novelty, makes certain the success of the play. Mr. Belasco has staged, "The Son-Daughter" in the manner with which he stages all his productions, and surrounded his newest star with a competent company of character actors.

Clifton Crawford's Farce

THE older theatre-goers who sigh for the farces of the gifted Hoyt should sigh no longer, for Clifton Crawford, after years of waiting, has found a farce that is quite as funny as any Mr. Hoyt produced. It is called "My Lady Friends," and while no credit is given on the program, it probably is an adaptation from the Viennese. The story is of a man whose wife does not believe in spending money, so he does it for her—on his lady friends. His intentions, even his action, are perfectly innocent, but it takes three acts of hearty laughs to establish this fact. Mr. Crawford is excellent—quite the most brilliant *farceur* of the season—and he is ably supported by a clever company, among them Mona Kingsley and Theresa Maxwell Conover.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Hackett and the Theatre Guild

THE Theatre Guild, responsible for last season's remarkable production of "John Ferguson" has not been as happy in its more recent offerings. John Masefield's drama of Japan, "The Faithful," was handsomely staged, but it lacks as a play the fire of the earlier presentation, and there was at least one serious error in casting. For its second production of the season the Guild produced a stage version of William Dean Howells', "The Rise of Silas Lapham," with Mr. James K. Hackett, the visiting star *Lapham*. The play is very satisfying if one does not let the attention stray from the old-fashioned clothing and furnishings,—but as a play, a medium of story telling, it fails. And Mr. Hackett does nothing to lift the performance. Most of the time he is deliberately stagey. The Guild, by the way, has lost one of its most valued members, Rollo Peters, who designed the set for "John Ferguson," and so admirably played the son. Mr. Peters goes to a larger field as a creator of stage effects, and should succeed.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A SHELF OF NEW BOOKS

THERE exists today a clique of patrons of the theatre, who are prone, one might almost say fond, of sneering at the efforts of the American stage, and complaining of the "lack of background."

The criticism is, in a measure, true. The American stage cannot boast of the days parallel to those when Will Shakespeare played his own dramas, nor can we trace its theatrical beginnings back to the minstrels of feudal days, or farther still to the pageant-dramas of the East. But then, the Americas were continents of myth in the days when these stage backgrounds were being made. However, there is of plenty of histrionic interest to combat the arguments of those who sneer. Certainly no stage of today can boast more lavish pictures than our modern spectacles offer; our native dramatists are showing an originality in their assurance and technique, and our players are developing a versatility, a quality of characterization that is commendable. Witness the invasion of the French and English stage by American players.

All this *apropos* the fact that, while the first known play offered Americans was in 1752, when an English company gave "The Merchant of Venice"—our theatrical world has a history that is colorful, active, and full of developing interest. Arthur Hornblow, and there are few more competent to write of things theatrical, entertains us with these and many other interesting facts in his two-volume "History of the Theatre in America" (J. B. Lippincott Co.), a valuable work which should find a permanent place in American libraries. The author has made a careful and chronological compilation, and has illustrated it profusely, work requiring much study—and the result is highly satisfying.

Is there such a thing as a really good propaganda novel? There have been stories which told facts in such a startling manner that the aim of the writer has been suc-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cessful, but usually at the expense of fictional values. Such is certainly the case with George Agnew Chamberlin's new story, "Not All The King's Horses" (Bobbs, Merrill Co.). As a novel, it is a sorry way to spend an evening, but as a sincere narrative of conditions in Mexico as seen through the eyes of a discerning member of our Consular service, this latest book of Mr. Chamberlin's is worthy of study. The author, from first-hand knowledge, is sure of his ground, and not at all loath to call a spade a spade. He probably felt when he wrote the book that he would have a larger audience if he were to disguise his purpose with a fictional cover. He may be right, for his previous novels have won him many admirers, and they will read his new book and discover that he has instructed rather than amused them.

"Green Ladies" (D. Appleton & Co.), W. Douglas Newton's new novel, is a quiet story which is hardly likely to find great favor for it lacks the dashing element seemingly necessary for popular success in the United States. The author is a young Englishman who has written several pleasing novels, and indeed, this one is pleasing, if one have time for a leisurely story.

Another book that has come to us from across the waters, this time from an American woman who has made her home in France, is Edith Wharton's "French Ways and Their Meanings" (D. Appleton & Co.). It is a series of seven short essays, with a very interesting preface by the author. Mrs. Wharton tells of what she knows to be fact, with enough of her own virile personality included to lend added value. Never hesitant in criticism or praise, she is frank in admitting that the purpose of the volume is that those Americans who know the Frenchman slightly may know him better, and so bring about a closer harmony between two people who have had to stand the solid test of fighting side by side for liberty. It is a small book, easy to read, but of illuminating value.

There is a growing interest in the United States in the one-act play. For years the shorter plays have been

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

popular in Europe, but it is only recently that they have gained in favor in the United States, and then, not through the medium of the professional stage, but rather because groups of students of the drama are following the lead of the little-theatre movement, and are producing and studying the one-act play. This makes Margaret Gardner Mayorga's volume, "Representative One-Act Plays by American Authors" (Little, Brown & Co.), of special value. It is interesting to note that the majority of these plays come from the pens of authors who have not won success on the commercial stage. Yet the plays are all excellent, and Miss Mayorga has done a capital piece of work in her selection, and included a biographical sketch with each play. This volume is without doubt the most helpful of its type, and certainly nothing has come to my desk that should prove a better prompt or text-book for the many groups of players who make the one-act play their study.

One never tires of stories of India. Why? Perhaps because the continent of mysticism stretches her subtle spell over the writer—and this spell is in turn cast over the reader. Ethel M. Dell's new story, "The Lamp in the Desert," is not startlingly original, either in setting or theme, yet it is all-absorbing—a novel that carries one along with a sense of unreality, gripping the reader even though he be conscious that the situations are often strained. It is quite one of the best of Miss Dell's stories, and her large audience will be glad to read it.

Daniel Henderson, one of the younger poets, should need no introduction to THE FORUM'S readers, for the magazine has printed several of his verses. He has called his first book "Life's Minstrel" (E. P. Dutton & Co.), and it is pleasing to find that his work stands the acid test of book publication. His verse is never stilted, and his flowing imagination carries the reader from the songs of parenthood to the grimness of war. The volume contains "The Road to France," Mr. Henderson's prize war-poem, which won the National Arts prize.

The publishers of George O'Neil's "The Cobbler in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Willow Street" (Boni & Liveright), have paid him the compliment of including the volume in their Penguin series. It is a compliment, for the other works in this series are from the pens of authors of international reputation. O'Neil may reach this reputation, for, in spite of his youth—he is only twenty-one—he has a lyric quality which is charming and an emotionalism that is very sincere.

THE PICTURE
(1920)

By CLINTON SCOLLARD

As the flickering midnight firelight fainted,
And without the keening North blew wild,
From a scene Murillo might have painted,
Shone the sainted features of a child.

On its face were faith and hope beholden;
In its eyes was charity defined;
Round about its head an aura golden
Seemed to emblem love for all mankind.

Was it but a dream, a dream elysian,
Of the peace of God envisaged clear?
Was it in reality a vision—
A bright vision of the new-born Year?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Editor's Un-Easy Chair

(Contributions to this department must be addressed to the Editor and should not exceed 1,000 words. Manuscripts should contain addressed envelope stamped.)

"Our Precious"—1920

NINETEEN-HUNDRED-AND-TWENTY'S hat is in the ring. A lusty youth born with hair and teeth, as the saying goes; a lad with an added curriculum to his education; with all the garden-variety studies to pass as well as a post-graduate course in higher mathematics, and European and Oriental diplomacy.

We view the future of our child with apprehension. He will need to be a super-Boris Sidis and Winifred Storer rolled into a prodigy of world-beating records to survive the stormy seas that threaten his bark. At home our Little 1920 starts on restricted diet. His very coal bin is in jeopardy. His milk bottle is marked up and his penny banks won't buy as much candy as of yore. His little sweet tooth may perish for lack of nourishment and, as for clothes, we must dress him in made-overs. He will need to watch his steps, too, lest his Teddy Bear be filled with TNT, and his music-box turns out to be a deadly machine.

We take him on one knee, as we sit uncomfortably in our Uneasy Chair, and we try to teach him to *parley-vous* and to lisp in spaghetti and goulash; to vocalize in Swiss and Edam, and to interpret his English goos and perchance a gurgle of sauerkraut—for our Little 1920 must be educated in tongues that are League-on. He shall be internationalized, shall Our Precious, for there looms up a Presidential election—which concerns all the world. Our Youngling must reach the hearts of all in our polyglot boarding-house and carry them a new message—one that will have its reaction overseas and in all parts of the earth.

He will not be able to escape the obligations of his parent, 1919, now gone West to the happier Elysium.

Vast problems of finance, government, racial con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

troversies, conflicting class wars, readjustment, reconstruction, all are at his feet, begging solution.

Yes, we are apprehensive—and yet we are optimistic. Father Time is looking through the glasses. There are new stars in the ascendant—democracy, brotherhood, justice, Americanism, humanity, profit-sharing—radicalism is falling.

Let us give our Youngling a chance. Let us see him through; enlist under the Stars and Stripes and put behind us the strifes and the losses, the greed, the disloyalty, and give our Little 1920 a glorious year of back to the Constitution, back to Americanism first and all the time, and back to our great standards of American principles of justice to all, and our Might for Right, whether at home or abroad, whether with or without a League.

Here's to you, 1920, in wet or dry!

Uncle Sam's Professorial Outlook

ONE of the perplexing needs among the many that afflict Uncle Sam is how many languages he'll have to master in the near future. His American magazine, once upon a time, told him all he wanted to know. That day has passed. He is deluged with a mass of publications, some of them printed in the cellars and garrets of his household, that he can't read because they are written in foreign languages. Upon inquiry he finds they represent the aims and principles of alien residents, some members of his household, others inquisitive guests seeking the privilege of his advice. A brief census of the languages he will have to learn so as to understand what all these strange tongues are talking about shows that he must study Albanian, Arabic, Armenian, Bohemian, Belgian-Flemish, Bulgarian, Chinese, Croation, Danish, Esperanto, French, Greek, Hawaiian, Hebrew, Holland-Dutch, Hungarian, Icelandic, Italian, Japanese, Lettish, Lithuanian, Norwegian, Persian, Filipino, Polish, Portuguese, Spanish, Swedish, Syrian, Ukranian, Welsh, Yiddish and Gaelic. If he burns the midnight oil for the next generation, he can scarcely catch

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

up with the scholarly needs of the task before him. It can't be done, and yet it is necessary if this fine old man of Free Empires is to be prepared for his job.

In our small attempt to gather information of what is going on in his household for him, the American editor shifts in his Uneasy Chair, glares through his horn-rimmed glasses, and looks puzzled.

What are all these foreign editors talking about; what are they trying to do in America?

For instance: does the Albanian approve of us, does the Arab agree with our national principles, how much does the Armenian need, does the Bohemian believe in labor unions, can the Bulgarian respect our barber shops, is the Greek studying American cooking, is the Chinaman angry with us, will the Hawaiian wear American clothes, does the Hebrew prefer Jerusalem to New York, will the Hollander give up wearing wooden shoes, what is Hungarian goulash really made of, is the Icelander thawing toward us, when will Japan stop being a diplomatic acrobat, are the Letts seeking self-determination, are the Lithuanians improving in culture, do the Norwegians like our bluefish, how gentle is the Persian editor, will Poland agree on a president for a chief of state, can the Portuguese resist monarchial temptation, how many colors are there in the Roumanian uniform, is the Russian an anarchist or an idealist, can an American learn to pronounce Scandinavian tongues, does the Serbian approve of soap, will the Slovak approve of prohibition, can a Spaniard talk Turkish, will the price of sardines in Sweden go up, is the Syrian opposed to Christian Science, will the Ukranian emigrate to Mexico, are Welshmen trustworthy, is there a Yiddish spelling-book, should the Gaelic language be censored?

"HOME, SWEET HOME"—A LOST MOTTO

FEW nations indicate professional cunning. Some irritating foreign scribbler, taking an editorial bite out of the Czecho-Slovaks, said, "They are not a nation; Czecho-Slovakiaism is a profession." Be that as it may, the American viewpoint of all this confused outpouring

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of European temperament must retain its amiability. Under the general American principles that all races of the earth are entitled to hear and see the enlightened liberty of the United States, all foreigners are welcome if they obey the laws, but, there is one thing we have a right to insist upon—that there be quiet in our sanctum. We do not want to be distracted in thought. Our national household cannot be disturbed by the guttural jabber of foreign tongues, whether mumbling or shouting in adjoining States or on the threshold of the Capitol or the White House.

Of course, Uncle Sam is the friendliest of world figures, and it is impossible to change his good humor, even if we wish to, but there is another angle of the foreign propaganda in this country which has no indeterminate motive. It is expressed in publications, directed by foreign interests in this country, published in English, which contain a constant appeal for money. To this request Uncle Sam is responding liberally. It has been discovered that the old man's warm heart is easily touched, and his pocketbook is never empty. He knows that Europe needs help, and he is willing to give it to the utmost. These drains upon his purse are scarcely noticeable, because he has got the habit of giving, but—Where does the money go?

And again, how far does this insistent appeal to put Europe on its feet financially distract his mind from the more important duty of putting America on her feet? To conserve the public interest of his own household requires his complete and individual attention. He must not be distracted from the home motto, "America First!" by the pressure of foreign problems upon his own.

Two Too Smart Sons

THE present economic situation recalls the story of the old man who had two brilliant sons. They were full-grown, able-bodied young men, but so far as the neighbors could see, they never engaged in any form of productive activity, but merely boarded with their indulgent father. One day someone asked the old man why it was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that he worked hard all the time, while his sons, like the proverbial lilies of the field, neither toiled nor spun.

"Them boys don't have to work," he answered, with parental pride, "they're too smart. Why, them two fellers will set down any evenin' after supper and make fifteen or twenty dollars apiece off of each other, playin' poker."

Uncle Sam has patiently supported capital and labor during long periods of poker-playing, when these two smart sons were trying, not to create new wealth, but to obtain a larger share of the wealth already existing. The needless suspension of production is in itself no slight offense. The disputes, however, have not always been limited to the comparatively quiet arbitration of a poker contest. There have been violent encounters, in which the family furniture has been seriously damaged. There have been interruptions to the ordinary household activities, causing some members of the family to go hungry and to suffer many forms of deprivation and inconvenience. Uncle Sam has hitherto looked on complacently, with cheerful indifference to the damage and annoyance which the rest of the family have suffered while his mutually antagonistic sons were trying to tear the house down, in order to spite each other. Can it be that the old man has finally grown tired of supporting his obstreperous clever sons, and is about to force them to behave themselves and to earn an honest living?

A Democratic Prince

NOW that His Royal Highness, Prince Edward Albert of Wales, has returned to his native land, apprehension that the republican form of government, under which we have struggled along for 140 years, was shaken in the minds of the timid is ebbing, and we are returning again to the normal enjoyment of self-determination and democracy. Our royal guest brought forcibly to mind the unlimited though somewhat belated potentialities of toadyism that still clings tenaciously in the upper status of our polyglot peoples.

At one of the royal dinners, it was difficult to imagine

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the guests present were mere simon-pure Americans. From safety-deposit boxes and private safes there suddenly emerged medals and ribbons representing decorations that would have done credit to a regal ceremomy abroad.

At one dinner nearly a thousand Americans, including men and women, stood on their feet for nearly an hour awaiting the arrival of His Royal Highness, fearing to assume a recumbent posture lest the Prince should unexpectedly appear.

Never in the history of the present generation was any one individual accorded such continuous and unlimited expressions of eager hospitality as was bestowed upon the heir to the British throne in his short visit "in our midst." Our most prominent orators paid glowing tributes to his personal charm and to himself as a symbol of our comradeship in arms as well as in the arts of peace and the promotion of civilization, represented in the mutual unwritten league between this country and "the mother country."

We were given perhaps needed lessons in ceremonial conduct and royal good form. That New York and Washington responded to the limit of sitting capacity and room space upon every occasion of princely entertainment is a credit to the whole-hearted hospitality characteristic of America and significant of the closer alliance between the English-speaking peoples.

Fortunately, His Royal Highness possessed a sense of humor and an abiding admiration for the ladies, two characteristics which saved many an otherwise overstrained moment.

Americans contributed unstintingly in their tribute to the splendid youth embodied in the symbol that Great Britain saw fit to send us. Free nations are and should be free to choose their rulers. The simplicity of expression and winning personality of the prospective ruler of Great Britain give promise to the throne of our English people overseas of a clean, clear-thinking, democratic monarch.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Swear Off Tobacco

Tobacco Tells on Nervous System
Tobacco Ruins Digestion
Tobacco Stunts Boy's Growth
Tobacco Robs Man of Virility
Tobacco Steals from You the Pleasures, Comforts, Luxuries of Life

Tobacco Habit Banished In 48 to 72 Hours

Immediate Results

Trying to quit the tobacco habit unaided is a losing fight against heavy odds, and means a serious shock to your nervous system. So don't try it! Make the tobacco habit quit you. It will quit you if you will just take **Tobacco Redeemer** according to directions.

It doesn't make a particle of difference whether you've been a user of tobacco for a single month or 50 years, or how much you use, or in what form you use it. Whether you smoke cigars, cigarettes, pipe, chew plug or fine cut or use snuff—**Tobacco Redeemer** will positively remove all craving for tobacco in any form in from 48 to 72 hours. Your tobacco craving will begin to decrease after the very first dose—there's no long waiting for results.

Tobacco Redeemer contains no habit-forming drugs of any kind and is the most marvelously quick, absolutely scientific and thoroughly reliable remedy for the tobacco habit.

Not a Substitute

Tobacco Redeemer is in no sense a substitute for tobacco, but is a radical, efficient treatment. After finishing the treatment you have absolutely no desire to use tobacco again or to continue the use of the remedy. It quiets the nerves, and will make you feel better in every way. If you really want to quit the tobacco habit—get rid of it so completely that when you see others using it, it will not awaken the slightest desire in you—you should at once begin a course of **Tobacco Redeemer** treatment for the habit.

Results Absolutely Guaranteed

A single trial will convince the most skeptical. Our legal, binding, money-back guarantee goes with each full treatment. If **Tobacco Redeemer** fails to banish the tobacco habit when taken according to the plain and easy directions, your money will be cheerfully refunded upon demand.

Let Us Send You Convincing Proof

If you're a slave of the tobacco habit and want to find a sure, quick way of quitting "for keeps" you owe it to yourself and to your family to mail the coupon below or send your name and address on a postal and receive our **free** booklet on the deadly effect of tobacco on the human system, and positive proof that **Tobacco Redeemer** will quickly free you from the habit.

Newell Pharmacal Company
Dept. 652 **St. Louis, Mo.**

Free Book Coupon

NEWELL PHARMACAL CO.,
Dept. 652 , **St. Louis, Mo.**

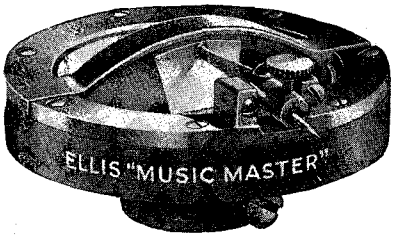
Please send, without obligating me in any way, your free booklet regarding the tobacco habit and proof that **Tobacco Redeemer** will positively free me from the tobacco habit.

Name.....

Street and No.....

Town..... State.....

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



On the market three years and "makes good"

The Ellis Reproducer has deceived voice, piano and violin teachers and their students, making them believe that the living artist was present instead of a talking machine. Wherever in use on a talking machine "the talking machine tone entirely disappears." It resurrects niceties of detail contained in records which no other reproducer discovers. It reproduces the beauties of music, at the same time eliminates all the twang and most of the grind or "surface noise."

"Vocal records are reproduced with life-like individuality," whether highest of soprano or deepest of basso.

Instrumental music is rendered in true-tone, "even the upper partials and lower fundamentals of string music are so real that one can fancy he sees the strings vibrate."

I can prove all the above statements: you can too. It looks well on all finishes of talking machines.

Write for free booklet No. 37, or I will send you in first-class mail the valuable, illustrated and copyrighted booklet "Hints on the Care of Talking Machines," for 12c, coin or postage stamps.

Address, J. H. ELLIS, P. O. Box 882, Milwaukee

MONEY IN LIST COMPILING

Complete course showing how any intelligent man or woman may start a money-making business of their own at home in spare time compiling and selling names by mail to advertisers. Description free.

Globe Publishing Co., 178 Syracuse, N. Y.

THE FORUM

IN ITS 34TH YEAR

For 1920—Will help you Think. Will give you the Best Thought of the Best Thinkers upon questions of strictly current interest.

Articles interpreting big questions and big men and women. Articles expositional of current affairs and the romantic and dramatic personalities of the hour.

THE FORUM is not a review, but a vehicle of original thought analysis and is published coincident with news interest.

THE FORUM PUBLISHING CO.
118 East 28th Street, New York City

SYNCOPATION

By ROBERT De CAMP LELAND

A book of indecorum by the author of *Roses and Rebellion* and *Purple Youth*. If you are weary of the academic and conventional in literature this new volume by the American poet will interest you.

Cloth $2 of the publishers

THE POETRY-DRAMA COMPANY BOSTON

SCENARIOS WANTED Real plots pay big—plots, not talk. We revise, edit, COPYRIGHT, publish, sell direct to producer.

UNIVERSAL SCENARIO CORPORATION
Western Mutual Life Bldg. Los Angeles

WOULD YOU KNOW WHAT TO DO?
TO HAVE YOUR WISHES COME TRUE?
TO BE HAPPY AND SUCCESSFUL?
TO FEEL THE THRILL OF NEW POWER?
TO HAVE A WINNING PERSONALITY?

Our System of Personal Development has shown thousands. It can show YOU. First lesson in SUCCESS and your Personality Sketch for 10c and birthdate.

THOMSON-HEYWOOD CO., Dept. 204
Chronicle Bldg. San Francisco, Calif.

Are You a Success? If not I can help you. Scientific Analysis of your name by the science of name vibration will tell you how to achieve it. Reveal your capabilities, desires, smooth out any difficulties. Attain happiness, success, avoid sorrow, failure. Prepare your children, when wishing vocational advice state present occupation. Send full name at birth with any changes and birthday with $2.00 for Numberscope.

Statement of vibrations for 1920. Is this the year to begin things? Also what your life lesson is, and are you learning it? 50c. Correspondence Course by mail. Please mention "The Forum."

Dorothy Saunders,
Vocational and Personality Expert, Box 72 Coolidge Corner, Boston, Mass.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WILL H. HAYS

A New Kind of Political Manager

The new G. O. P. ringmaster is putting pep into the political circus of the rapidly unfolding Presidential campaign. His principal office is aboard train, and his speeches and organization methods reach from the Atlantic to Pacific, reflecting a quality of 100-percent Americanism that has made him, in a brief year, a national figure of commanding interest and importance.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED